NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

Without Concealment-----Without Compromise.

VOLUME V.---NO. 39. NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1845. WHOLE NUMBER 247.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY,
BY THE
AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.
At 142, Nassau Street, New-York.

Sydney Howard Gay,
Maria Weston Chapman,
Edmund Quincy, } Editors.

☞ All communications for the paper, and letters relating to its pecuniary concerns, should be addressed to SYDNEY HOWARD GAY.

Donations to the Treasury of the American Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer, at Boston; or to S. H. GAY, Assistant Treasurer, at New-York.

TERMS.—$2 00 a year, in advance; $2 50 if not paid within six months.

☞ $10 00, in advance, will pay for SIX copies, for one year, sent to one address.

☞ TWENTY copies, or more, will be sent to one address, at $1 50 each.

☞ Subscribers can remit money without expense by observing the following rule of the Post-Office Department: "A postmaster may enclose money in a letter to the publisher of a newspaper, to pay the subscription of a third person, and frank the letter, if written by himself."

H. M. HENRY, PRINTER.

Selections.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, January 31, 1845.

The Special Joint Committee, to whom was referred so much of the annual message of his Excellency the Governor, as relates to the Annexation of Texas, have had the subject under consideration, and submit the following report and resolves.

For the Committee, JOSEPH BELL.

REPORT.

The subject of this reference has suddenly become an object of great national importance, and seems destined to engross most deeply the attention, the interests, and the sympathies of our whole people.

With scarcely an interval for reflection and deliberation, the administration of our National Government, for nearly the whole of the past two years, has devoted itself, with an untiring industry and sleepless vigilance, to the accomplishment of this object.

The annexation of Texas was first recommended by President Tyler to Congress, and through Congress, to the people of the United States, in his annual message, of December, 1843.

A treaty was concluded for its admission into the Union under his auspices, by his Secretary of State, with the Commissioners of Texas, in April, 1844.

This treaty was submitted to the Senate of the United States, his constitutional advisers, by the President,—and in June, 1844, was by them rejected by an overwhelming majority.

The subject was again submitted by the President, at the same session of Congress, to the House of Representatives, and by them left without any action whatever.

The project of Annexation, notwithstanding all this adverse action by the representatives of the people, has been again brought before Congress by the President, in his annual message of December, 1844, and the Congress of the United States are now understood to be earnestly engaged with various propositions, all tending in different ways to bring about the same general end—the admission of Texas, in some form, into the Federal Union.

Massachusetts has not been inattentive to the progress of this measure.

She has once and again raised her warning voice, and with an unanimity rarely equalled in her legislative proceedings, has solemnly declared, that Texas, with her consent, can never become a part of the American Union.

The Legislature of 1843 resolved—"That under no circumstances whatever, can the people of Massachusetts regard the proposition to admit Texas into the Union, in any other light than as dangerous to its continuance in peace and prosperity, and in the enjoyment of those blessings which it is the object of a free Government to secure."

The Legislature of 1844 resolved—"That the power to unite an independent foreign State with the United States, is not among the powers delegated to the General Government by the Constitution of the United States."

Another and a more formal appeal is now made by his Excellency the Governor, and the Representatives of Massachusetts are again called upon to say—whether the solemn, the repeated, and all but unanimous judgment of their predecessors, shall stand as the judgment of the people, and the whole people of Massachusetts, now and forever.

Why should it not so stand? Has the Constitution itself changed since 1843?—or, have its great principles, deemed in 1844 so repugnant to the admission of a foreign State, become less energetic, or less repulsive?

An examination of its principles and provisions in relation to this subject, will show that whatever else may have changed, *these have not changed.*

The Constitution of the United States is an act of the people's own legislation. This, like all other mere legislation, is local, and has the force and effect of Law only within the acknowledged territory of the Legislator.

If this leading principle in the application of all Law, could in any case be drawn into doubt, it would hardly seem possible to raise a doubt of its fair application to the great charter of our Union.

The people themselves in this case have declared, that "*We, the people of the United States*, do ordain and establish this Constitution for *the United States of America.*"

Who, then, were the people of the United States, in 1789, by whom, and for whom, this Constitution was formed?

The people who ordained and established the Constitution at that day, were the people who had just come out—gloriously, it is true—from a seven years' conflict with one of the most powerful nations of the earth; and had thus, but recently, extorted from that proud nation, the acknowledgment of their right "to assume their separate and equal station among the powers of the earth."

The "old thirteen"—colonies once—States then—and now out-numbering Empires—bound together by the recollection of their common dangers and triumphs, naturally felt anxious to give *permanence* and *durability* to the results of their great revolutionary struggle.

They naturally felt anxious that whatever memorial of their common toils, and sacrifices, and sufferings, in the cause of human freedom, should be left as their legacy to posterity, should be embodied in a form as enduring as the principles for which they had fought, and the glories they had won.

They, therefore, the men of the Revolution, made a Constitution, embodying for national purposes the great principles out of which their great struggle had arisen.

They made a Constitution in their own imperishable language—"in order to form a more perfect union—to establish justice—insure domestic tranquillity, and secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity."

These declared objects of those who made the Constitution, are especially worthy of notice at the present time. It was made "to establish justice, and insure domestic tranquillity." Would these objects be effected by the admission of fugitives from justice, in all other quarters of the world, to the rights of citizens in this?

It was made "to secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity." Would these blessings be most constitutionally secured, by the spread of involuntary servitude, as far as may be in our power, to all other regions of the earth?

It was made "in order to form a more perfect union"—this was the leading object. Would this be promoted by the extension of our bounds from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from Terra del Fuego to the Arctic ocean? But with whom was this more perfect union to be formed?—with whom, but with those who had fought and triumphed together—with those who had established, by their counsels and their arms, the perilous declaration of 1776—"that these united Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States."

But for what portion of the heritage of man was this Constitution ordained and established?

The obvious answer would be—for the country of those who ordained and established it.

It would hardly be expected, that those who had but just secured their own independence, and become emancipated from foreign control, would have their first sympathies aroused, and their first energies directed, to the construction of a Government whose great and progressive benefits would largely, if not principally, fall upon foreign States and foreign territories.

The first and most pressing want, would demand the earliest remedy. The people who had deeply felt the want of "a more perfect union" among themselves, during the perilous progress of the Revolution, would have much more naturally provided in the first place, for that pressing evil. The States that had just been emancipated from foreign thraldom, would be much more anxious "to establish justice, and insure domestic tranquillity" *at home*, than to extend the area of either freedom or slavery *abroad.*

The people, then, of the once "united colonies," who had now become absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, ordained and established this Constitution for the "United States of America."

The territory embraced in our great national act of July 4, 1776, became by that act, and the treaty with Great Britain, of 1783, "the United States of America," for whom this Constitution was "ordained and established."

Who can look at and read the introductory sentence of this great charter of our rights and obligations as citizens of the United States, in the light thrown upon it, and around it, by the history of the men and the times, by whom, and in which, it was formed and adopted, and doubt for a moment, that the Constitution, in its design and purpose—in the language and understanding of those who formed and those who adopted it—in everything, in short, which would give it, and which ought to give it, the binding efficacy and effect of a great National Compact,—was made by the men of the Revolution for the glorious lands acquired by the blood and treasures of the Revolution—*and for no other lands whatever?*

The extended domains of Louisiana and Florida, then belonged in full dominion to Spain, and were no more intended to be embraced at that time, or in all time to come, in the term "United States of America," for whom this Constitution was formed, than Spain herself,—they were no more in the minds and purposes of those who made, and those who adopted the Constitution, than Mexico or Brazil,—Patagonia or the Celestial Empire.

The Committee think this is entirely clear on the face, and in the terms of the Constitution itself. But it is equally clear, from the history of the times which preceded and the circumstances which occasioned its formation.

The Constitution was not the work of men who had nothing to do, but to provide means to foster and cherish the same great interests throughout the whole range of the abounding and expanded country, from the torrid to the frigid zone.

Great as was the desire for union, the diversities of origin, of habits and manners, of climate, of soil and productions—but more than all else—of "the peculiar institutions" of a large and powerful section of country—these had already created all but insuperable difficulties, in arranging and adjusting the one to the other.

But the work was entrusted to wise heads and patriotic hearts. The Father of his country was at its head, and it was successful.

It is, however, admitted, everywhere, and on all hands, that it was the result of a compromise of great and conflicting interests, throughout the whole extent of the Union.

But how could conflicting interests have been adjusted, or opposing interests compromised, if the nation itself had not then assumed its form, and established its bounds? Interest could never have been balanced or adjusted, or their extent or importance known among the States, until the national boundaries had not only been ascertained, but been fixed, established, and rendered immovable. The great compromise of the Constitution,—the admitted slave representation in Congress, and in the election of President, proves this, the Committee think, beyond all contradiction.

This great surrender of an equality of rights on the part of the free States, consists in granting representation to a species of property, which, if not entirely a "tropical production," is found only in those States under the influence of a peculiar climate, and peculiar institutions—and in excluding all other property—whatever in amount, or wherever situated, entirely from representation.

Would the free States of this Union have ever consented to admit this element of slave property to representation at all—if the claim had *then* been made, as *now*, that the Constitution gave power to extend the Union over the slave-climate to the equator? Would the same elements of compromise have been in that case presented? Or the same results have followed? Let the calculating spirit of those who have so long been calculating the "value of the Union," ascertain the probabilities in this case, and declare the result.

But it is said, and although the Constitution was originally, and in terms confined to a well-known and well-defined territory, that it nevertheless contains an inherent power of indefinite expansion, by express powers granted for that purpose, and that the Constitution itself provides that Congress may admit new States into the Union.

The Constitution does so provide. But does it provide that these new States may be formed of territory not originally belonging to the "United States of America?" Let us see how this matter stands?

The Constitution, Art. IV. Sec. 3, provides—that "new States may be admitted by Congress into the Union—but no *new* State shall be formed or erected, *within* the jurisdiction of any other State, nor any *State* be formed by the junction of two or more *States* or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned, as well as of Congress."

Here it is obvious, that all the *limitations* on the *power granted*, to admit new States into the Union, most clearly apply to the States and territories *then* constituting the Union.

"New States may be admitted by Congress." This is the power granted.

But "no new State shall be formed *within* the jurisdiction of any other State." "Nor *any State* be formed by the junction of two or *more States.*"

These are the *limitations* on the *powers granted. These limitations, all palpably apply to the territory within the then existing Union*—and the Committee deem the argument not only fair, but irresistible, that the *power* and its *limitations* were intended by the people to apply to the *same*, and *only to the same subject matter.*

But this is not all.

The Constitution, Art. 7, provides, that "the ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution, between the States so ratifying the same."

Here, then, is a case presented, where the Union, under the Constitution, might have gone into rightful operation, and "four States" out of the "original thirteen," might have been excluded from its benefits.

Was not this the case in point for the application of this express power to admit new States without travelling out of the bounds of the original Union? A case too, appealing with great force and effect, both to the interests and the sympathies of the whole Union?

But this is not all.

It is well known that when the Constitution was formed, in 1789, the Ordinance of the old Confederation of July 13, 1787, was in full force and effect, in relation to the northwestern territory. This territory now constitutes the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan.

It is equally well known, that this ordinance provided that not less than three, nor more than five *States* should be formed in certain proportions out of this territory, and ultimately be admitted into the old confederation.

This obligation to admit "these new States," when they arrived at majority, devolved, of course, on the Union, under the Constitution; and this provision of the Constitution became necessary to carry this obligation into effect.

Here, then, are legal and constitutional provisions by which "five *new* States" and "four of those then existing" might have required this express power to admit new States, to have brought them within the fold, and given them their clear legal inheritance—an admission into the Union.

This number of "new States," equal to those authorized by the Constitution, to establish the constitutional Union, to say nothing of those "new States" that might, under the constitutional provision, be formed with the consent of Congress and the States and of the original States and the territories, is sufficient to show the necessity of such a power, and the propriety of its application, and of its application alone, to the territory *within the then existing Union.*

The power then relied upon, to expand the Union to an indefinite extent, will only show, when rightly applied, the provident care of those who drafted that instrument, to provide for the performance, *within the then existing Union, of all existing duties.*

There is another express power in the Constitution, which the Committee are of opinion is in direct conflict with the power now claimed to admit a foreign State into the Union, in whatever manner such power may be applied.

The Constitution, Art. I. Sec. 8, provides, "That Congress shall have power to establish an uniform rule of naturalization throughout the United States."

This constitutional power, Congress has undertaken to carry into effect, by establishing an uniform rule for that purpose throughout the Union.

It is now proposed by a mere act of legislation to bring Texas into the Union as a State, with all the rights of a State, and its citizens—foreigners of course—with all the rights of citizens in all the States. Congress are authorized "to *establish* the rule"—not to apply it. Would not then a legislative or treaty admission of Texas, destroy all pretence of uniformity in the rule?

But not to dwell longer on all the particular clauses of the Constitution, the Committee are constrained to believe, and to declare that belief, that the Constitution of the United States, as originally formed and adopted, gave no power to any or all the departments of the National Government, to admit a foreign State, or foreign territory, into our constitutional Union.

But it is said, whatever may be the language of the Constitution, or whatever the people who adopted it may have intended in regard to the admission of "new States," the practical construction has become fully settled and established, by the admission of Louisiana, and the full recognition of that act, for more than forty years, by the people.

The basis on which this position rests, demands grave consideration. It abandons, of course, all *express* and *original* power in the Constitution to admit, and places the right of admission of new States, solely on the long-continued acquiescence of the people.

This subjects those who maintain this right on the precedent of Louisiana, and that alone, to the charge of having added to the Constitution, by mere assumption, a power that could only have been rightfully added by an amendment of that instrument. If the power is claimed by the acquiescence of the people merely, it must begin and end in the precedent itself. Mere submission to a palpable assumption of power without right, can never prove more than that those who submit believe the evils of resistance would more than counterbalance the evils of submission, to the assumed power.

But such submission to power, merely assumed, can never be drawn into precedent, or extended by construction. It may, like the judgment of a court in a particular case, not founded on, but in opposition to the law of the land, sustain itself until reversed. But it sustains itself in solitary singleness and sadness, without imparting to the Constitution, or those who administer it, any right whatever to apply it as a precedent to any other case.

The acquiescence of the people may sanction, for the time being, the very act to which it applies, but can never be applied to a new case, or to sanction additional infractions of the original instrument.

The assumption of the power to admit Louisiana, can never authorize the admission of Texas. It has no resemblance to an original power in the Constitution. That may, of course, apply to all new cases which arise within the same principle; but acquiescence merely tolerates the very act to which it applies, and while it applies, and that alone.

The case of Louisiana, the Committee believe, is of this class. Its great features are easily stated and understood.

In 1803, under the presidency of Mr. Jefferson, a treaty was concluded with France, by which the United States obtained a cession of the entire claim of France to the territory known as Louisiana. This treaty, thus negotiated, was ratified by the Senate of the United States, and Louisiana, admitted as a territory by the treaty, and formed into a territorial Government, has since been considered as forming a part of the United States. The States of Louisiana, Missouri, and Arkansas, have already been admitted into the Union, as States formed out of the territory thus acquired.

This is the precedent. Does it authorize and justify the admission of Texas, as a foreign and independent State?

The admission of Texas by legislation, would violate this precedent in all material respects.

If admitted by the treaty-making power, the resemblance would be nearer, but the act of admission would be still radically and essentially different.

The treaty-making power under our Government, can only be exercised among sovereign and independent States, and is applied to regulate the interests and provide for the *future* intercourse of such parties.

A treaty is then the contract of at least two parties, and presupposes those parties to exist, and remain in existence, in a condition to fulfil the guaranties of the treaty. It has never been applied, and the Committee believe can never be applied, to annihilate or extinguish politically, either of the contracting parties. A State has no right to be—*felo-de-se*—by treaty, or in any other manner. Texas proposed all this by the treaty of April, 1844.

Louisiana, in 1803, made no claim to be an independent State. She was an appendage, or colonial possession of France, and was transferred as such—*not by herself*—but *France.* The act of cession in no way impaired the functions of the Government of France,—she still remained after the treaty, as before, with full power as an independent nation, to sustain and fulfil all the obligations incurred by the treaty.

This, then, was a transfer of territory, only from one nation to another—each independent, and remaining independent, of the other—and ratified with all the formalities known to the treaty-making power, under our Constitution.

Yet no fact in our history is better established, than that Mr. Jefferson, the great author of this important national act, himself doubted its constitutional authority, and deemed an amendment of the Constitution itself necessary, to extend a rightful power over the territory, or to admit it as a State into the Union.

But more than forty years have passed away, and all branches of the National Government, and of all the several States, have in various forms acknowledged the States formed out of the territory thus acquired, to belong to the Union. Let this question, then, rest in peace.

But can this be deemed a precedent for the admission of Texas in any form?

Texas claims to be an independent State, and to make the transfer as an ordinary act of Government. Louisiana made no such claim, and had no such claim to make.

Texas claims the right, under delegated powers of Government essentially the same as those entrusted to our National and State Governments, and acting under and in pursuance of those powers, to transfer the country, the inhabitants, and all their rights and immunities, to a foreign power. The Committee believe this to be a claim without precedent, and without right. The powers of all rightful Governments create a *trust*, which those only who are called to execute the trust may rightfully carry into effect.

But it is no part of the delegated powers of our own Government, National or State, to transfer the Nation, State, or people, to any foreign power.

The Committee are not able to see if the delegated powers of the Government of Texas, exercised by the officers elected to administer it, are deemed in any form sufficient to transfer the people, the country, and all the functions of the Government of Texas to the United States,—why, if it so pleased the Commissioners who negotiated the treaty of April, 1844, and two-thirds of the Senate, the whole people and territory of these United States, might not with equal power have been transferred to Texas. This would have placed the people of the United States in at least a *new*, if not a position to be desired. It would have placed them where they might have been left to grope their way for the future, by the dim twinkling of "the lone star of Texas," rather than to march on to the fulfilment of higher and more glorious destinies, under the more ample folds and brighter and purer light of our own star-spangled and revolutionary banner.

The Committee believe that the people of the United States have never delegated power to any or all the departments of Government, to transfer the United States, or the people thereof, to any foreign power,—and that Texas, in this regard, has no greater powers. They believe, that the powers of Government are a *trust incapable of transfer*, and granted to be applied only to their legitimate ends, and that therefore all the organized powers of the Government of Texas could never rightfully transfer her Government, territory, and people, to the United States, with any more or greater effect, than all the organized powers of the Governments of the States, and the United States, could transfer the Governments, territory, and people, of the States, and the United States, to Texas.

But if this were otherwise, and if all the organized powers of the Government of Texas, in any or in all forms, were competent to transfer the people and territory to this Union, the Committee believe there is no rightful power in all or any of the departments of our National Government to receive them.

But it is said further, that Congress may, as an ordinary act of legislation, declare war, that war may lead to conquest, and thus territorial acquisition may be forced on the country by the simple action of a clearly defined power of legislation, and that if this be so, what Congress may do by legislation "forcibly, if they must," they may do by legislation, "peaceably, if they can." But this argument takes for granted what is by no means conceded.

Congress may, it is true, by a simple act of legislation, place the country in a state of war. Congress may raise armies, and the Executive, as commander-in-chief, may overrun foreign territory and hold it by conquest. But this right of Congress, if *right* at all, it must always be remembered, is but a temporary right. It is a right merely to hold and occupy the country till peace take place. It is the treaty of peace, and that alone, which settles all conquest in war, and all rights of territory at its close. And although war, under our Constitution, is a legislative power, peace is not. Peace being attainable only by treaty, and that power being clearly placed by the Constitution in the President and two-thirds of the Senate, excludes, of course, the legislative power from any participation in the act of peace, and thus leaves the argument without any foundation whatever.

The Committee have, on the matter referred to and considered by them, arrived at the following conclusions, which they ask leave to state:

1st. That the Constitution of the United States was originally formed and adopted for the territory of the United States, as it existed at its formation and adoption, and for that alone.

2d. That the Constitution contains no power whatever to admit new States, or territories, without and beyond the bounds of the Union, as established when it was formed and adopted.

3d. There has been, hitherto, no precedent for the admission of a foreign State by treaty, or a foreign State or territory by legislation.

4th. That the States and territories admitted since the adoption of the Constitution, out of territory not then within the Union, are admitted by the general consent and acquiescence of the States and people in the acts of admission.

5th. That this general consent and acquiesence form no precedent for other cases, and impose no duty on any State of the Union to extend it to any State or territory not now within the bounds of the Union.

6th. That the power to admit States or territories not within the bounds of the Union at the adoption of the Constitution, having never been delegated, is reserved to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts or the people thereof, and can only be rightfully exercised in such a manner as they shall hereafter appoint.

Such being the result of the examination of the powers of the National Government under the Constitution of the United States to admit Texas into the Union, the labors of the Committee might have come to a close. But the actual position of Massachusetts in regard to this momentous question, seems to them to be such as to require them to proceed under the order of the reference to some further considerations.

It might, perhaps, be deemed, under other circumstances, and those of a less pressing and embarrassing character, more respectful to the authorities of the United States, to presume that no attempt would be actually made to push the powers of the National Government beyond the constitutional limits in the admission of a foreign State. But when it is considered that the attempt has not only been made once, but has been repeated already,—that it is urged on by all the force that can be applied to it by a section of the country, and by an interest in that section which has hitherto known no result in political action but success, it may be proper for the people of Massachusetts, through their Representatives, to declare the grounds on which not only her opposition to the admission of Texas is placed, but will be hereafter maintained. The decisive, unanswered and unanswerable objection, is the want of constitutional power to admit.

Massachusetts makes no boast of her fidelity to the Union. It is simply her duty to be faithful to her engagements, and she fulfils her obligations as such.

She forbears to inquire into the *expediency* of the admission of Texas, or any other foreign State into this Union. If benefits ten times greater than have ever been presented by the glowing imaginations of its most passionate admirers, were certain to follow the admission of Texas, she would still say, "the Union as it is," until altered by the power that made it.

She forbears to inquire whether the admission of Texas would bring war in its train from Mexico or any other nation.

She forbears to inquire whether Texas would come into the Union oppressed and overwhelmed with debts, or "with the possibility of riches beyond the dreams of avarice."

She forbears to inquire into these, not because they are not of the highest importance in themselves, but for the reason that when a clear principle obstructs her way, she can never be made to pass over it or around it.

The Constitution is in the way of the admission of Texas. This is insuperable, and she inquires no further.

But, instead of submitting the question of the admission of Texas to Congress, or to any or all the departments of the National Government, it was now submitted directly to the people of Massachusetts, what would, and ought to be the answer?

His Excellency the Governor, in that part of his message referred to the Committee, says, in relation to the admission of Texas into the Union: "It is too obvious to require argument that slavery, with the considerations connected with it, is the leading motive which impels the movement for the hasty consummation of this important measure."

Massachusetts is compelled to say, that the whole evidence before her in regard to this matter, renders it impossible for her to doubt that the acquisition of political power by the extension of the slave interest into Texas, and the greater security to that interest, by the increased power thus to be obtained, have driven forward this measure with an earnestness, an impetus, and an energy, which nothing but a superior earnestness, impetus, and energy, in defence of her own rights and the rights of humanity, can counteract or restrain.

Massachusetts will take no ground on this matter which she is not able nor willing to maintain. She has already declared through her Executive, that, "as a State, she has ever maintained, and ever will maintain, the whole of the Constitution of the United States." In this, while her constitutional obligations remain, she will never falter.

But when it is proposed to her people, to enter into relations with States or territories, to which the provisions of the Constitution do not extend; and when she is asked by such extension to place every three of her own freemen on a political equality with every five persons in Texas, who are bound down to everlasting servitude by a Constitution which "secures," as it is said, "in the most nervous and clear language, the rights of the master to his slave," she has but one answer to make, and she makes this answer calmly and deliberately, and firmly—Massachusetts will never consent to enter into any such relations.

She will never consent, where she is not already bound, to place her own free sons on any other basis than perfect equality with freemen; and, last of all, and more than all, she will never, by any act or deed, give her consent to the further extension of slavery to any portion of the world.

RESOLVES CONCERNING THE ADMISSION OF TEXAS.

Resolved, That Massachusetts has never delegated the power to admit into the Union, States or territories without or beyond the original territory of the States and territories belonging to this Union at the adoption of the Constitution of the United States; and that, in whatever manner the consent of Massachusetts may have been given or inferred to the admission of the States already, by general consent, forming a part of the Union, from such territory, the admission of such States, in the judgment of Massachusetts, forms no precedent for the admission of Texas, and can never be interpreted to rest on powers granted in the Constitution.

Resolved, That there has hitherto been no precedent of an admission of a foreign State, or foreign territory, into the Union by legislation. And as the powers of legislation granted in the Constitution of the United States to Congress, do not embrace a case of the admission of a foreign State or foreign territory, by legislation, into the Union, such an act of admission would have no binding force whatever on the people of Massachusetts.

Resolved, That the power never having been granted by the people of Massachusetts, to admit into the Union, States and territories not within the same when the Constitution was adopted, remains with the people,—and can only be exercised in such way and manner as the people shall hereafter designate and appoint.

Resolved, That the people of Massachusetts will never consent to use the powers reserved to themselves, to admit Texas, or any other State or territory, now without the Union, on any other basis than the perfect equality of freemen;—and that while slavery or slave-representation forms any part of the claims or conditions of admission, Texas, with their consent, can never be admitted.

These resolves were adopted in the House of Representatives on Tuesday last—Yeas 188, nays 41.

MASSACHUSETTS AND SOUTH CAROLINA.

LEGISLATURE OF MASSACHUSETTS.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS. In Senate, February 3, 1845.

The Joint Special Committee, to whom was referred the Message of his Excellency the Governor, of the 6th ultimo, transmitting certain documents from the State of South Carolina, and a letter from the Hon. Samuel Hoar, have considered the same, and ask leave to report the accompanying Resolves and Declaration appended to it. By order,

C. F. ADAMS.

RESOLVES

Concerning the treatment of Samuel Hoar by the State of South Carolina.

Resolved, That the Declaration annexed be adopted as the act of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and that his Excellency the Governor be hereby authorized to transmit one copy of the same to the President of the United States, and one copy to the Governor of each of the States constituting the United States of America, excepting only the State of South Carolina, with a respectful request that the same be submitted to the consideration of the Legislatures of the United States, and of the States respectively.

Resolved, That his Excellency the Governor be hereby authorized to transmit to the Executive Government of the State of South Carolina, a copy of the Declaration which has been addressed by Massachusetts to each of the other States of the Union.

DECLARATION.

The State of Massachusetts now addresses each of her sister States of the North American Federal Union, and, in the presence of all Christian nations, of the civilized world, and of an omniscient, all-seeing Deity, the final judge of human action, in States as in individuals, enters her earnest and solemn

PROTEST

against the hostile acts of the State of South Carolina.

Massachusetts thus arraigns South Carolina, because, disregarding the comity acknowledged by all civilized communities as the rule of conduct towards one another, and defying the express stipulations of the Constitution of the United States, a compact into which her citizens voluntarily entered with those of the other States composing the Union, she has, for a period of time now embracing a quarter of a century, persisted, and still persists, in executing a system of legislation, aggressive upon the rights of her sister States, and has refused to submit her action to be judged by the tribunal specified by that Constitution, as the arbiter of their disputes, namely, the Supreme Court of the United States.

This system of legislation, under the color of police laws, has been carried on by South Carolina, until it has assumed all of the following principles:

First, That the State has a right to send officers on board of the ships of other States, touching at her ports, with the design of distinguishing between the persons who constitute the crew, and of seizing, at her sole discretion, and casting into prison, such as she may specify, without the necessity of alledging against them the commission of any crime.

Second That the State has a right to inflict corporal punishment, by the application of the lash, to any extent, upon the persons of citizens of Massachusetts, solely because they may be found a second time in the ships of their own State, touching at her ports.

Third, That the State has a right to sell into absolute slavery for life, human beings, unoffending persons, freemen of Massachusetts, entitled, by her Constitution and laws to the fullest security of life, liberty, and property, as well when following a lawful calling on board her ships as when at home.

Fourth. That the State has a right to expel from her territory, citizens of Massachusetts, going to it for the sole purpose of seeking the peaceful mode of redress for her citizens which the Constitution of the United States affords, an opportunity to appeal to the courts of the Union.

Fifth. That the State has a right to punish by fine and imprisonment, any citizen coming from any other State, with the intention to question the validity of laws which assume the right to imprison, to whip and to sell the freemen of the latter, without hearing, trial, or the allegation of any crime.

In former times, as between independent States, the assumption of powers far more circumscribed than these, would have been met by the resort to arms. But Massachusetts is too well aware of her obligations, to endeavor to seek redress in any manner which the Constitution of the United States and the advancing spirit of Christian civilization would alike condemn. She will not give loose to a spirit of retaliation, which the offence might well justify, nor even indulge in language of recrimination, that would ill become the disposition she seeks to cultivate towards her sister States. It may be that, in the contests which mark the progress of the nineteenth century, she will differ from many of them in her mode of adhering to principles of vital importance to human liberty, but she will do so calmly. And though steadfast in the maintenance of her own rights, she will not seek needlessly to attack theirs. This earnest appeal to them shall not be soiled with a single expression which would ever cause a just regret to the remotest descendants of her citizens. It shall claim from them the undisturbed enjoyment of all the privileges which their ancestors braved every danger to secure. But that claim shall be made to treat only upon those immutable principles of justice, of freedom, and of right, which, however smothered for a time by the force of local interests or sectional passions, must in the end extort the assent of the most reluctant heart.

Five and twenty years have elapsed since the date of the first hostile act now complained of; a sufficient time for reason to resume its sway, had the policy been the offspring merely of momentary alarm and inconsiderate haste. Instead, however, of relaxing, the subsequent legislation has varied only in its severity. It must now be assumed as beyond a doubt, that South Carolina will not surrender her claim of the right to board the ships of other States, in order to pick out from her crews whom she thinks fit to suspect of evil intention, and to seize and imprison, perhaps to whip, and perhaps to sell into slavery for life, those persons, if she so incline, without being under the necessity of alledging against them any crime beyond that of their appearance in those ships at her ports.

In the long list of offences charged upon the mother country, as justifying the separation of the colonies, there is not found in the Declaration of Independence, one, the arbitrary character of which approaches that of the acts committed upon citizens of friendly States, by South Carolina, under this claim. For they make of no account whatsoever, the vital principle which animated that, as it must every just struggle of a people for freedom, the principle that no man should be subjected to the loss of life, of liberty, or of property, without the allegation of some offence committed, and without being heard in his defence. When the representatives of the colonies, in 1774, addressed their first remonstrance to the people of Great Britain, they only declared that "they held it essential to English liberty, that no man be condemned unheard, or punished for supposed offences, without having an opportunity of making his defence." The idea that he could be condemned unheard, without the necessity even of supposing an offence, never occurred to them. That was a position which the most extravagant asserter of the British prerogative would not, in the face of her history, of Magna Charta, of the right of petition, of the execution of Charles, of the bill of rights, and the acts of settlement, have conceived it possible to assume.

Had there been no peculiar ties of sympathy, long since created, to bind South Carolina and Massachusetts together—had they been merely upon the footing of civilized nations at peace with each other,—these acts of the former, and the principles which they involve, could have been regarded in no other light, than as intended to provoke hostility. And perseverance in them, after remonstrance on the part of the latter State, would justify retaliation, and even war. The recognized law of nations is clear, that an injury either done or threatened to the perfect rights of a nation, or any of its members, and susceptible of no other redress, is a just cause of war. The only justification for her conduct that has ever been attempted by South Carolina, is the plea of necessity of police regulations to her own safety. But this plea, as opposed to the rights of other nations liable to be affected thereby, however potent, cannot be carried to the extent to which that State would push it. Massachusetts denies her right, under any such pretence, to arrogate to herself a right of jurisdiction over the ships of Massachusetts, or condemning her citizens without appeal, simply because they are following an innocent and honest occupation on board of those ships whilst lying in her harbors. She denies her right under such pretence, to violate, at her sole will and pleasure, the perfect rights of other nations, or of any of their members. South Carolina may, if she see fit to press her plea, deprive the citizens of foreign States of certain privileges upon her soil which comity would grant, but she surely cannot justly claim by it to board their ships—to make distinctions among the crews of those ships—to compel whom she pleases to enter her territory against their will—to imprison them in her jails—to force the commanders to give bonds to redeem them, and to pay the expenses attending their involuntary detention—to lash them, and to sell them as slaves for life. These acts are acts of war. They have no justification in the recognized intercourse of Christian or civilized nations, intending to remain at peace. They lead to the last appeal between sovereigns, and to nothing else. For it is the indispensable duty of the nation thus attacked, in the persons of her citizens, to protect them in every manner possible in the enjoyment of their rights, both of persons and property, she herself being the only judge whether it be advisable or not to resort to force. This is a fundamental principle of every social compact. In accordance with this established law of government, Great Britain, which seldom neglects to interpose her arm for the security even of the humblest of her citizens in foreign countries, felt herself called upon to enter a formal complaint against the extension of the operation of these same acts of South Carolina over her subjects, visiting the ports of Charleston in her ships. She remonstrated, not with that State, but with the Government of the United States. She appealed to it to maintain the faith of its treaties. William Wirt, a citizen of Virginia, and afterwards of Maryland, then occupying the responsible post of Attorney General of the United States, and entitled to high consideration as a legal authority, down to this day, pronounced the complaint well-founded, and the acts complained of an infraction of "the Constitution, treaties, and laws of the United States, and incompatible with the rights of all nations in amity with the United States." South Carolina yielded; but, as if determined to show to the world that she conceded only to the danger of an impending rupture, and not to the conviction of her error, she only suspended the operation of her acts upon the citizens of a powerful foreign nation; whilst she persevered in executing them upon her neighbors and friends, whom it seemed less hazardous to wrong. And thus it is, that, more than once, in the harbor of Charleston, citizens of Massachusetts have found, on board of the ships of a foreign State, a refuge from oppression by their fellow-countrymen, which, their own ought, but was unable to secure to them.

But superinduced upon these general obligations on all nations to respect the perfect rights of each other, there are special ones which South Carolina, by the voluntary ratification of the Constitution of the United States, as a common form of government, assumed towards the citizens of the other States, and among them to those of Massachusetts. Whatever may be the character of that compact, whether between the States or the people of the States, it should be a law equally imperative in its character upon all the parties to it. Massachusetts is prepared to abide by it, as well in those portions which are onerous to her, as in those from which she derives benefits. But when doing this, she expects, nay, she demands, the same rule of action from her sister States. She will never acknowledge the right of any one or more of them, under any plea whatsoever, to set themselves above the obligation of conforming to its terms, particularly in those cases which most nearly touch the privileges secured to her own citizens. It is one of the provisions of the Constitution, that the "citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." Massachusetts affirms that this provision has been set aside by the acts of South Carolina. She avers that her citizens are not allowed any privileges and immunities, who are seized, cast into prison, lashed, or sold as slaves for life, without a shadow of crime defined against them on her own statute-book. She denies that anything can be called a privilege or immunity, which is attended with so glaring a violation of the right of personal liberty. She now solemnly, and before the face of Heaven, charges upon South Carolina a deliberate and palpable breach of that condition of the common compact, and she appeals to the sense of justice and of right,

both of living and future generations, to answer that THE CHARGE IS TRUE.

But had South Carolina any justification to make of her acts, beyond a tyrant's plea; did she join issue with Massachusetts upon the question, who are the citizens of each State, entitled to enjoy the privileges and immunities referred to in the Constitution: did she deny that the persons whom she claims the right to seize, to imprison, to whip, or to sell, without question, although admitted to belong to Massachusetts ships, are Massachusetts citizens, there is provided for her under the compact to which she made herself a party, a grave tribunal, to which, in the last resort, every controversy between the States may be brought to a peaceful end. The Constitution assigns to the judicial power of the United States the province of deciding controversies between two or more States, between a State and citizens of another State, or between citizens of different States. Massachusetts has taken every measure possible to induce South Carolina to submit this question of the validity of these laws, so far as they apply to her citizens, to that power. The great object expected to be gained by the employment of a special agent was, that the necessary measures might be perfected within the territory of South Carolina, where only they could be taken, to procure an ultimate decision. If Massachusetts be wrong in her view of her rights, she has no reason, from the constitution of that final tribunal, to expect a scruple of partiality in her favor, to weigh in arrest of judgment. But whether wrong or not, she has offered, and does offer, to abide by the award, whatever it may be. And she insists upon her right, under the obligations of the common compact, to demand the assent of South Carolina to her proposal. It is one of the most solemn considerations attending this controversy, that that State has been willing to intrench herself behind every technical obstacle to such a decision; that her citizens, when called professionally to take the ordinary steps to forward it in the federal courts, have all declined so to do; that she has now finally prohibited them from accepting any similar trust; and that she has thought proper to threaten with personal violence, in order to deter from acting, an individual sent from Massachusetts to do what her own citizens have refused to do. The evidence necessary to prove her intent, is then at last complete. It must be assumed that South Carolina now deliberately refuses to recognize the authority of the federal tribunal. She sets herself above the restrictions of the Constitution, which she agreed to sustain, and perseveres in the execution of her will, at whatever cost. If it be once assumed that the Government of the United States has not either the power or will to interpose, it becomes a grave question to consider, whether the citizens of Massachusetts can much longer remain bound by their obligations to South Carolina, under the compact. Such is the legitimate consequence of the policy she has thought it proper to pursue. Massachusetts presents this view to each of the States, without seeking to encourage any use of the unfortunate liberty which it might be construed to give.

It is true, that once an attempt was made in the Congress of the United States to sustain, by an elaborate report, upon strictly constitutional ground, the position which South Carolina has assumed. And inasmuch as that State, though refusing to submit the argument upon which it rests to the judgment of the Federal Court, has taken the same general basis for the resolutions passed by her Legislature, it acquires a degree of importance which may bring it within the notice of Massachusetts. The argument is, that by the clause of the Constitution, granting to "citizens of each State *all* privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States," South Carolina is bound to extend to them only the same degree of privilege and immunity that she does to her own population at home "under the like circumstances." Hence it must follow, that if she retain to herself the right to seize, imprison, lash, and sell as slaves for life, without charging the commission of any crime, or giving them any hearing, any part of her freemen, she may constitutionally claim to exercise the same power over the freemen of other States, "under the like circumstances." With all the inhumanity that ordinarily attends a code of slave laws, there will scarcely be found in them any authority for such a proposition as this, and if there were, its publication in the face of the Christian world would at once be its condemnation. No. Free negroes are safe from personal harm, even in South Carolina, so long as they obey the laws, and commit no offence. But the free negroes of Massachusetts are liable, whenever they come into the harbors of Carolina, in the vessels of Massachusetts, to be seized, cast into prison, whipped, and sold for slaves, notwithstanding that they may manifest no disposition whatever to touch her soil, or to commit the smallest act likely to draw down upon them a suspicion. Are, then, the cases parallel, even upon the reasoning presented, and does South Carolina, by her own construction of the Constitution, extend to the citizens of each State *all* the privileges and immunities which she grants to her own, "under the like circumstances"?

But the construction, admitted for the sake of argument, when analyzed, is proved fallacious to the last degree. It has been made to rest upon a definition of citizenship, nowhere found in the numerous works upon Government which have usually been recognized as authority during the last century, but drawn from a judicial opinion of a court in the State of Kentucky. It is due to the present question to quote it entire, as it stands in the original defence.

"The term citizen is derived from the Latin word civis, and in its primary sense signifies one who is vested with the freedom and privileges of a city. If we go back to Rome, whence the term citizen had its origin, we shall find, in the illustrious period of her republic, that citizens were the highest class of subjects, to whom the jus civitatis belonged, and that the jus civitatis conferred upon those who were in possession of it all rights and privileges, civil, political, and religious. When the term came to be applied to the inhabitants of a State, it necessarily carried with it the same signification with reference to the privileges of a city; and it is in this sense that the term citizen is believed to be generally, if not universally, understood in the United States. This, indeed, evidently appears to be the sense in which the term is used in the clause of the Constitution which is under consideration; for the terms, "privileges and immunities," which are expressive of the object intended to be secured to the citizens of each State in every other, plainly import, according to the best usages of our language, something more than those ordinary rights of personal security and property, which, by the courtesy of all civilized nations, are extended to the citizens or subjects of other countries, while they reside among them. No one can, therefore, in the correct sense of the term, be a citizen of the State, who is not entitled, upon the terms prescribed by the institutions of the State, to all the rights and privileges conferred by those institutions upon the highest class of society." &c.

Upon a similar idea of citizenship, South Carolina rests the declaration made by her Government on the sixth of December, 1844, in these words:

"Resolved, That free negroes and persons of color are not citizens *of the United States* within the meaning of the Constitution, which confers upon the citizens of one State *the* privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States."

Massachusetts takes issue before the world with South Carolina upon this position. She maintains the definition to be false, the conclusion from it to be dangerous, and the resolves which rests upon it to be an essential perversion of the terms of the Constitution which it purports to quote.

Had the Kentucky court turned to the preamble of that Constitution under which it acted, in these words: "We, the representatives of *the people* of the State of Kentucky, in convention assembled to secure to *all the citizens* thereof, the enjoyment of the right of life, liberty, and property, and of pursuing happiness, do ordain this Constitution," &c.—would it then have ventured to maintain, in the face of the republican people of that State, that they meant to secure the advantages spoken of only to the "highest class of their society?"

Did it mean to infer that because there may be free persons in a State, who do not enjoy *all* the privileges and immunities conferred upon the highest class of her society, they are not citizens, and are therefore entitled to claim none at all? Hence, that the State in which they live, may at pleasure seize, imprison, order to be beaten with a lash, or sold into slavery for life, all such free persons without the necessity of alledging against them the commission of any crime?

The court of Kentucky obviously meant to justify no such inference. It construes the terms "privileges and immunities," in the Constitution, "to import something *more* than ordinary rights of personal security and property, which the courtesy of all civilized nations extends to the subjects or citizens of other States." But if this be at once admitted, how comes it that South Carolina can draw from it any justification for the depriving whom she may think fit, from other States, even of those "ordinary rights which the courtesy of all civilized nations would extend to them?" The definition seems to presume something more to be secured than the absolute rights of strangers, "subjects or citizens of other States." The conclusion drawn from it, not merely gives them something else, but utterly denies them any right whatever. The result of the whole would seem to be, that a portion of the people of Massachusetts, or the other States of the Union, instead of gaining any new "privileges and immunities," by the adoption of the Federal Constitution, must have been actually deprived by it of those which they would have had without it.

But Massachusetts has learned the doctrines of liberty in no such schools as these. She claims to be a republic and not an aristocracy. Her Constitution, formed in the midst of the fiery trial of the Revolution, breathes the spirit of the fathers of her freedom. It declares "all men born free and equal, and having certain natural, essential, and inalienable rights." The seventh article of her declaration of principles affirms "Government to be instituted for the common good: for the protection, safety, prosperity, and happiness of the people, and not for the profit, honor, or private interest of any one man, family, or class of men." The tenth says that *each* "*individual* of the society has a right to be protected by it, in the enjoyment of his life, liberty, and property, according to standing laws. He is obliged, consequently, to contribute his share to the expense of this protection: to give his personal service, or an equivalent, when necessary. There is not a word in it about "the highest class of society." Citizenship, according to it, embraces all the members of the social system, who, while contributing to its burdens, earn the right to its protection. The duty of the State is imperative to shield against wrong the humblest of its members, not less than the proudest. So far as her Constitution is concerned, she recognizes no distinction of rights between the two.

It is not, then, as "citizens of the United States," as the State of South Carolina pretends, but because they are citizens of Massachusetts, that this State claims the guarantee of the Constitution of the United States, to protect her people against wrong in the harbors of Carolina. That instrument explicitly enough says, that "the citizens of *each State*," not the citizens of the United States, for there are no such persons, excepting as they are primarily citizens of some smaller body politic, "shall be entitled to *all* privileges and immunities," not to *the* privileges, as the resolve of South Carolina states it, "of citizens in the several States." The citizens of Massachusetts are entitled, in South Carolina, to *all* the privileges which citizens of South Carolina themselves enjoy. What the precise extent of those privileges are, it is unnecessary here to inquire, so long as it must be conceded that they cover immunity from gross wrongs. So long as South Carolina arrogates the right of seizing, imprisoning, whipping, and selling as slaves for life, any member of the social system of Massachusetts, without cause assigned, hearing, or trial, just so long is that immunity referred to in the Constitution wholly set at naught. Neither is it material to the question, what the social condition of the oppressed persons may be in Massachusetts. They do unquestionably every year exercise the privilege of voting, conceded to all citizens; but if they did not enjoy it, they would be in no worse position, than are all women, or children under twenty-one years of age. On this or any similar score, it is not within the competency of South Carolina to make arbitrary distinctions among her people. It is enough that they are human beings, endowed by the Deity with "certain natural, essential, unalienable rights, among which may be reckoned the right of enjoying and defending their rights and liberties." Massachusetts contracted for their security, under the guarantee of the Constitution of the United States, and South Carolina has broken the contract, by setting it aside.

The principle which South Carolina has assumed goes to this length, that she denies the right of other States to decide for themselves who are or are not their own citizens. She claims the power to distinguish between them, to exclude from the title whom she sees fit, and to take from these at will, all rights, privileges, and immunities, excepting perhaps the right to life. If this construction of the clause in the Constitution be for a moment conceded to be correct, then has every State in the Union the same right to specify and limit the class of persons in other States whom she will recognize as entitled to privileges and immunities of citizens within her borders. Massachusetts, for example, might with as much reason decide that none but the free negro of South Carolina should be considered by her as a citizen of that State, entitled to the privileges and immunities of citizens within her limits, as South Carolina does, that none but the white man of Massachusetts should be so regarded within hers. The power and the right of one State to make such a decision is co-extensive with that of the other to make an opposite one. Both make the guarantee of the Federal Constitution void and of no effect. Both vest the power of making vexatious distinctions and preferences in the very hands out of which that instrument obviously intended, for the sake of the general peace, to take it. Massachusetts has not, on her part, ever claimed any similar right. She submits to be bound by the paramount obligation of the common compact, but at the same time she requires that other States in the same position will equally submit, and she demands that the State which denies that obligation, in points onerous to herself, should cease to urge the performance, by the rest, of those conditions by which she only is to be benefited.

But not content with a simple refusal to acknowledge the validity of any rule of reciprocity between the States, whether that rule be laid down by the general law of nations, or by the special conditions of a written contract, South Carolina has thought it becoming her character as a civilized community, to vent her indignation upon one respectable citizen of Massachusetts, who ventured to undertake the simple duty of entering her territory, for the purpose of forwarding the necessary legal measures to obtain an adjudication of this controversy in the Federal Courts. She has chosen to order his expulsion from it, and to accompany her order with a wilful misrepresentation of the character in which he came. She has chosen to affix penalties to the attempted performance of any similar trust hereafter. These are facts which the laws and recorded resolutions of her Legislature place beyond the reach of denial. Massachusetts will not notice them in this connection only that the sketch of the principles and policy of that State may be made more complete. One purpose for which Mr. Hoar was sent to South Carolina, was to test the disposition of that State to submit to the conditions of the Constitution of the United States—and it has been fully answered. In other respects, the action that has been had upon the agent is of no material consequence. The dignity of Massachusetts can never be tarnished by a simple and rigid adherence to the line of positive duties. Neither could it be heightened by retorting acts or words of impotent violence for an equally impotent insult.

There remains, however, one more duty to be performed. However confident Massachusetts may be that her preceding course has been in every respect justifiable in this controversy, yet a decent respect for the opinions of mankind would seem to require a brief recapitulation of her several acts, in order that a full and clear judgment may be formed, as to the question, which of the two governments most nearly follows the line that Christian principles, and the courtesy of modern civilization would prescribe.

If there be any force in the concurring sentiments of all authorities upon the nature and end of government, there is no principle more clear than this, that it is the indispensable duty of a State to do everything in its power that may protect its members against wrong. This is a fundamental principle of the social compact. Massachusetts could never disregard it with impunity to her reputation, so long as a path of living light shall remain marked out for her in the first part of her own Constitution. Founded upon the basis of equal rights among the members of her society, it was not for her to be outdone in earnestness for their defence against oppression, by the government of a monarchy, which acknowledges no such equality. Yet Great Britain had remonstrated against the oppressive character of the laws of South Carolina, upon her subjects, long before Massachusetts did; and, what is more, she obtained a suspension of their operation upon them, which Massachusetts has failed to do. What the cause of the difference in the treatment of the two States could have been is difficult, at this time, to point out. It may have been owing to the conciliatory temper of the latter, which induced her to bear for a time in silence, rather than to hazard a dispute with a sister State. The citizens of the State, whose rights were attacked, early remonstrated, and were only deterred from pursuing the question in the Federal Courts, by the remonstrances of a Judge of those courts, who assured them that the evil complained of was only temporary in its character, and would be remedied by the voluntary act of the State courts themselves. Such was not, however, the result. Those courts, when appealed to, sustained the validity of the laws, and technical obstacles defeated a decision of that of the United States. William Johnson, himself a native and citizen of South Carolina, and then the Judge of the Supreme Court of the Union, already alluded to, did not hesitate, upon the general merits of the question, to pronounce the decided opinion that the acts complained of "trampled on the Constitution," and "implied a direct attack upon the sovereignty of the United States."

So long as sentiments like those could be heard and tolerated in the heart of Carolina herself, as expressed by distinguished jurists, there was reason to hope that these acts, originally the offspring of fear, whose ears are always deaf to the calls of humanity or justice, would pass away with the memory of the events that occasioned them. But fourteen years elapsed. The Judge who had been so candid in expressing his convictions, was removed from the sphere of human action, and left no echo of his voice behind him. And the apparent success of Carolina, in maintaining her policy, tempted many of her sister States to follow her example. A few of them, whilst adopting her system, were careful to avoid her errors. Others were less regardful. But it is of the States of South Carolina and Louisiana that Massachusetts has the most cause to complain, because it is to the ports of Charleston and New Orleans that her ships and citizens most resort. Yet, notwithstanding that aggravated cases of wrong, endured by them, were occurring every year, it was not until 1836 that petitions were addressed to the Legislature, invoking the interposition of the State. Even then, the great anxiety to avoid any unpleasant collision with her sister States, led her to postpone action upon them for three years more. But her duty was not the less distinctly laid down before her, and seeing that the perseverance of South Carolina and other States in their aggressive policy was no longer to be doubted, she directed the following remonstrances to be recorded on her statute-book:

"*Resolves concerning certain laws of other States which affect the rights of citizens of Massachusetts.*

"Whereas, under the laws of several States in this Union, citizens of this Commonwealth, visiting those States for the purpose of business, or driven thither by misfortune, often have been, and continue to be, though guiltless of crime, cast into prison, subjected to onerous fines, and in many instances sold into slavery; therefore,

"Resolved, That it is a paramount duty of Massachusetts, to protect her citizens in the enjoyment and exercise of all the rights to which, by virtue of their citizenship they are entitled.

"Resolved, That this Legislature hereby protest against the laws in question, as invading the sacred rights of citizens of this Commonwealth, as contrary to the Constitution of the United States, and in utter derogation of that great principle of the common law, which presumes every person to be innocent until proved guilty.

"Resolved, That his Excellency the Governor, whenever it shall be made to appear, to his satisfaction, that a citizen of this Commonwealth is imprisoned in another of the United States, on suspicion of being a slave, is hereby authorized to employ a suitable person, whose duty it shall be to procure the requisite proofs in the case, to proceed, if necessary in the opinion of the Governor, to the State where the individual is so imprisoned, to lay the matter before the proper authorities, and having obtained the release of the said individual, to bring or cause him to be brought to a place of safety; and his Excellency is hereby empowered to draw his warrant on the treasury of this Commonwealth, to defray the expense thereof.

"Resolved, That his Excellency the Governor, be requested to transmit a copy of these resolves to the Executives of the several States of the Union, and to each of our Senators and Representatives in the twenty-sixth Congress of the United States."

Such was the first declaration of Massachusetts upon this subject. It recognized its own duty—it calmly and mildly remonstrated against the acts of other States, so far, and so far only, as they injuriously affected the undeniable rights of its own citizens; it authorized measures to be taken to relieve the sufferers. Further than this it did not go. It denounced no one, it insulted no one, it threatened none. Respectful in language, and strictly defensive in its tone, it rested upon the hope that something would yet be done, by the voluntary act of the offending States, to remedy the grievances complained of. And to the end that they might be informed, it directed a transmission of the remonstrances to the other States.

Three years more were suffered to pass—a period of time sufficient to test the effect of this first respectful remonstrance. No measure or relaxation was proposed in any quarter. The resolves remained utterly unheeded. In the meantime, however, citizens of Massachusetts continued to suffer as before. And it became manifest that new measures were absolutely necessary to prove that the State was not disposed to surrender, without a struggle, a solemn and fundamental principle of her political faith. The only course that remained open was to endeavor to bring the question before the only tribunal competent to decide it, the Supreme Court of the United States. In the confident expectation that this might be readily accomplished, by simply assuming responsibility for the expense of the suit, the Legislature in the year 1842, adopted the subjoined resolves:

"*Resolves relating to the imprisonment of citizens of this Commonwealth in other States.*

"Resolved, That the imprisonment of any citizen of Massachusetts, by the authority of any other State in the Union, without the allegation of the commission of any crime, and solely on account of his color, is a gross violation of the Federal Constitution, as well as the principles of rational liberty.

"Resolved, That whenever his Excellency the Governor, shall be applied to in behalf of any citizen imprisoned as aforesaid, and it shall appear to him, by a representation under oath, made by any creditable person, that such citizen, so imprisoned, is held in prison on account of his color only, it shall be the duty of the Governor forthwith to take all suitable and proper measures to cause such citizen to be discharged from his imprisonment, and the legality of such imprisonment to be tried and determined by the Courts of the United States; and his Excellency the Governor may draw his warrant upon the treasury of the Commonwealth, to defray any reasonable and necessary expenses thereby incurred.

"Resolved, That his Excellency the Governor be requested to transmit a copy of these resolves to the Governors of the several States, to be communicated to the Legislatures thereof."

The hopes excited by the adoption of this measure, that the question of the validity of these laws might be carried up to the Federal Court for adjudication, proved vain, for the reason that the sufferers under them could not hope for any aid upon the spot, to make themselves heard in Massachusetts, through the bars of their prison house. Those of them who were fortunate enough to be attached to ships, preferred to follow them, rather than run the risk of being detained to await the result of a difficult suit, without any protection from the laws of the State in which they were; and those who were not so fortunate, were scarcely likely to be ever heard of again, as freemen, to make any complaint whatsoever. It soon became clear that another effort was necessary, of a different kind. And still obeying the clear obligations of her Constitution, Massachusetts once more went forward in the defence of her citizens. Upon the petition of a large number of her most respectable citizens, that a new attempt might be made, having for its object the employment of high professional assistance in the ports of Charleston and New Orleans, in behalf of the sufferers, and for the sake of promoting a decision in the Courts of the United States, the following resolves were adopted in 1843:

"*Resolves relating to the imprisonment of citizens of this Commonwealth in other States.*

"Resolved, That the perseverance of many of the States in the Union against all remonstrance on the part of Massachusetts, in seizing and imprisoning her citizens, without the allegation of any crime, is calculated to weaken the confidence which she has in the good disposition of those States to maintain their engagements to the Constitution of the United States inviolate.

"Resolved, That his Excellency the Governor, with the advice and consent of the Council, be authorized to employ an agent in the ports of Charleston, in South Carolina, and New Orleans in Louisiana, for a term of time not to exceed one year, for the purpose of collecting and transmitting accurate information respecting the number and names of citizens of Massachusetts, who have heretofore been, or may be, during the period of his engagement, imprisoned without the allegation of any crime. The said agent shall also be enabled to bring and prosecute, with the aid of counsel, one or more suits in behalf of any citizen that may be so imprisoned, at the expense of Massachusetts, for the purpose of having the legality of such imprisonment tried and determined upon in the Supreme Court of the United States.

"Resolved, That his Excellency the Governor, be authorized to draw his warrant to cover any necessary expense incurred in carrying into effect the foregoing resolves, after the same shall have been audited and allowed by the Council, to be paid out of the public treasury."

The object of these resolutions was two-fold. First, to gather some facts, by which a judement might be formed, how extensive the practical evil, so far as it affected citizens of Massachusetts, actually was. Secondly, to secure the long-cherished purpose of trying the question of the validity of these laws before the constitutional tribunal. In order to carry out the intent of the State, the Governor, for the time being, communicated with gentlemen of professional distinction, residing in the specified ports, and solicited them to assume the trusts thus conferred. They, without exception, declined to act. It became evident, that so far as citizens were concerned, who were under the influence of public opinion in their respective States, there could be no hope of co-operation. But, up to this time, the State had interposed no direct obstacle to the execution of the design of Massachusetts, nor had it declared its determination to resist it. One more opening then remained, which might lead to an amicable result. The duty of Massachusetts still continued imperative, to leave no act undone which could yield a reasonable hope of protection to her people. It was, therefore, determined that a citizen of Massachusetts should be sent at once to take the necessary measure to promote an amicable appeal of the controversy to the highest tribunal of the Union, and to test the disposition of South Carolina to continue bound by the terms of the Constitution of the United States. This was done by one further and last act of legislation. In 1844, a new resolve was passed in these words:

"*Resolve concerning the imprisonment of citizens of this Commonwealth in other States.*

Resolved, That his Excellency the Governor, with the advice and consent of the Council, be hereby authorized to employ an agent for the port of Charleston, in South Carolina, and an agent for the port of New Orleans, whose duty it shall be to reside in said port, for a term of time not exceeding one year, for the purposes specified in the resolves relating to this subject, passed on the twenty-fourth of March, in the year one thousand eight hundred and forty-three. And that his Excellency the Governor, be hereby authorized to draw his warrant to cover any necessary expenses incurred in carrying into effect this or the aforementioned resolves, after the same shall have been audited and allowed by the Council, to be paid out of the public treasury."

Under the authority conferred by this resolve, the Governor of the Commonwealth appointed Samuel Hoar, a respected citizen of Massachusetts, the agent for the port of Charleston, to perform the duty specifically assigned him, and no more. That gentleman repaired to Charleston, endeavored to commence upon his task; and, simply because he attempted so to do, was driven, by threats of personal violence of a mob, from the territory of South Carolina. And the Legislature of that State subsequently sanctioned the act of the people, by recording on her statute-book, an order for the expulsion, as a dangerous emissary of sedition, of this single, inoffensive, unarmed man. And the same Legislature has passed a law, making it a highy penal offence in any person, whether citizen or stranger, ever to attempt the like again.

The pacific object of Massachusetts was not attained by this result, it is true. But the failure was absolutely necessary to be shown to the world, before her duty was entirely fulfilled. It is now clear, beyond the possibility of contradiction, that South Carolina denies the authority of the Constitution of the United States; annuls her obligations under it towards one of her sister States; and refuses to abide even by the rules of comity that govern the pacific intercourse of civilized communities.

And now, upon a review of all the proceedings of Massachusetts, she challenges the world to show that she has done any act, in connection with this subject, which it was not her indispensable duty to her citizens to do for their protection, or which any State has a just right to complain of her for doing. Neither has there been a word placed upon her statute-book, which she has occasion to regret. Her remonstrance has been grave, respectful, reasonable. Her measures have been moderate, strictly lawful, conciliatory, in a spirit of truth and peace. Questions like this must go into the history of the age—they must be finally tried by a standard which the passions of the moment, however potent, will never reach. Let posterity decide whether South Carolina will be entitled, with any justice, to say thus much.

There is, however, above and beyond all the considerations heretofore presented, one to which Massachusetts now earnestly invokes the attention of her sister States. The compact formed between them all, by the Federal Constitution, is the living and shining testimony of the nineteenth century to the truth of the theory of liberty with law. She adjures them not to favor any course of action which must ultimately show it a solemn lie. She adjures them not to permit a case of injury to the rights of the people of any State to find no constitutional mode of redress whatsoever. If one of the States constituting this Union, assume to place herself in a hostile attitude to citizens of any other; if she refuses to listen to respectful remonstrance, long and patiently continued; if she deny the authority over her of clear stipulations in the contract to which she voluntarily assented; if she set herself beyond the reach of tribunals especially appointed to decide upon controversies between the States; if she treat with insult and contumely the bearer of a simple proposal to promote an adjudication of the dispute, and if she threaten with the terrors of the law all persons who seek to repeat it hereafter; then it is plain that, so far as that State is concerned, the onerous conditions of the Constitution have no longer any binding power over her. The Congress of the United States have tolerated the doctrine in official form, that "they have no means of affording relief," and that "the States which enacted them are alone competent to strike these laws from their statute-book," and the arm of the federal judiciary having been paralyzed, in this instance, within the territory of South Carolina, it appears plain, if the General Government, contrary to its obvious duty, and to the neglect of rights guaranteed by the Constitution, should continue to sustain the position heretofore assumed, that Massachusetts, and every other State aggrieved, will be denied any remedy, unless it be by throwing herself back upon the original inherent rights of her citizens to defend themselves. It becomes, then, a solemn question to decide, whether South Carolina, which has wilfully and deliberately defeated Massachusetts of a legitimate use of one of the provisions of the compact, designed to yield to the citizens of the latter, that protection against wrong, which they have a right to demand, has not voluntarily forfeited all title to insist upon the execution, by the citizens of Massachusetts, of those other provisions by which she peculiarly benefits? Massachusetts reserves her decision upon this point. Her obligations to the remaining States, and her duties to herself, forbid her risking, by any hasty step, the hazard of still greater evils than those which she desires to remedy. She cheerfully acknowledges that patience, under the infliction of this gross and glaring wrong, is her present duty, not towards South Carolina, but towards the pacific States. But the same duty impels her, in the most impressive form, to record her PROTEST against the commission of that wrong. She will follow no example of violence that may be set to her. But if the assumptions, for the moment successfully made by South Carolina in this instance, should be repeated, and other States, deluded by her example, should insist upon the execution of all the conditions of the Constitution advantageous to themselves, whilst they refuse to comply with the less favorable ones, it is scarcely necessary for Massachusetts to repeat the prediction of the learned jurist of South Carolina, that "retaliation will follow," and all the other and worse evils that come in its train. The most admirable form of Government which the wit and patriotism of man ever devised to develope his energies, and promote his happiness, must become the victim of his lawless passions. Massachusetts will do nothing voluntarily to hasten so deplorable a result, or rather she will sacrifice much to avert it. But she will do her duty to her people, whether in the less or the more favored condition of society. She will never relax in her demand of all the rights which belong to her as a State and a member of the Union, or in the exertion of her utmost energies in support of the undying principles of justice and liberty among men, the base of her social edifice, cemented in the blood of many of its founders, as they are the pride and the honor of modern civilization.

From the Baltimore Saturday Visitor.

THE BLACK LAWS OF MARYLAND.

(*Continued.*)

The Legislature have been quiet this week, with respect to the free blacks, we did not intend to say anything on the subject in our present number; but our sympathies have been so deeply excited, anew, by a communication from one of the aggrieved class, in whose ranks these cruel doings of our legislators have naturally created a very panic. The writer evidently intended it for our private eye alone, and will, no doubt, be very much surprised to find his thoughts in print; yet we concluded it would be best to let his note tell its own tale of sorrow in its own simple way—and oh! how touching it would be to the feelings of every reader whose heart is in its right place:

"DR. SNODGRASS:

"*Sir*:—Having conversed with some of the most distinguished gentlemen of this city, who have all opportunities to be, and doubtless are, well acquainted with the laws of this State, I find that they differ from me with regard to the bearing which the registry law will have on the colored people of the State. They think that as the law does not, in so many words, say that persons presenting themselves for registry, are required to have satisfactory evidence of their freedom, that, therefore, it will not be asked. Now it seems clean to me, that, as the provisions of the bill contemplate none but free persons, some mark of distinction will be kept up, in order to prevent the registry of improper persons.

"It has been suggested to my mind that, if something could be dropped into the public prints, to open the eyes of the people to this subject, it would be of great service to the poor colored man. The man who wears the tight shoe, is the best judge which toe it pinches; and it is impossible for even our warmest friends to enter into the feelings of the oppressed, unless they have felt something of the same themselves. Should you feel free to say something on the subject, in your next number, you will have the smiles of heavenand the good will of many an oppressed heart.

"The difficulty we wished noticed is, that in the event of this bill passing into a law, and such evidence being required, *nearly one-third of the free colored men of the State will be involved in endless slavery!* from which may God protect us by pleading our cause with those who are too mighty for us, for we are in an unfriendly world!

"Most Respectfully,

A FREE COLORED MAN."

Baltimore, Feb. 12th, 1845.

The difficulty alluded to, will be sorely felt by that numerous class of free colored people, who have been careless respecting their "free papers," if not wholy ignorant of their necessity, and to the children of the legally free, who are, perhaps, far away from the places of their birth and the living witnesses, if such there be, of their hereditary freedom. Can it be possible that our lawmongers thought of these things? Well may our correspondent conclude that he lives in an "unfriendly world."

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, FEB. 27, 1845.

Texas.

It is as easy to calculate the cast of a die, as it is the probability or improbability of Annexation the present session. It is only necessary to induce some two or three Whigs to be a trifle more than common villains, and the deed is done. The Democrats are all supposed to be wound up to the necessary sticking-point of rascality. A seat in the Cabinet, or a foreign mission to some needy scoundrel, may decide the destiny of this country for half a century or a century to come, and the fate of millions yet unborn to life-long slavery. To such a sublime heighth of political and moral depravity have we come, that on this slender thread hangs the consummation or the defeat of the most stupendous fraud, the most unmitigated wrong, and the basest act of national wickedness, and political hypocrisy, than was ever perpetrated by any people. All the arts, and all the power of the slave-mongering policy of the South and its Northern allies, now centre on this one point, and if they are defeated, we can only fear that they permit themselves to be so, because more certain of success in future.

It is Slavery's last chance of life, and the wily monster will not die without a mighty struggle. If she lives, it will be by an increase of strength which will set her foes at defiance for a long time to come. Her friends know this, and no means will be left untried to give her the victory. Mr. Polk, who holds in his hands all the rewards of Executive patronage, holds up the glittering bait to the hungry crew, and spurs them to renewed exertion by the hope of its possession. The dogs can have no bones till they have performed the trick, and the yelping pack are in full cry, bent on pleasing their new master and securing their own prey.

The intelligence from Washington varies according to the various channels through which it comes. Hope and fear predominate alternately, as a feather's weight of influence is thrown into either scale. The Democratic papers are just now italicising the latest ukase from the Hermitage, that Gen. Jackson is in favor of Mr. Benton's bill, while the Whigs are fearing that the bill and the joint resolutions will both pass the Senate, to make "assurance doubly sure." Papers are said to have been found on Santa Anna, proving a bargain to exist between him and the British Government, promising the assistance of the latter in the Texas controversy, provided she be rewarded with certain claims on California. Whether true or not, the intelligence will have some influence on the question at the present moment. Two new letters have within the week been published, found among the family archives of Mr. Jefferson, from which, it is said, letters can always be produced to meet the exigencies of the times. One is from Mr. Jefferson himself, and the other from Mr. Monroe. They show, says the Morning News, "how Texas was thrown away." They relate to the Spanish Treaty, and bear date, May, 1820. Mr. Jefferson says, "I confess to you I am not sorry for the non-ratification of the Spanish Treaty." It places us right in the eyes of the world; and, he adds, "has had the valuable effect of strengthening our title to Texas, because the cession of the Floridas in exchange for Texas imports an acknowledgment of our right to it." He enlarges on the value of Texas to the Union, especially as a sugar-making country. In reply, Mr. Monroe ascribes the failure to acquire Texas, not so much, and indeed not at all, to any foreign relations, but to difficulties, "altogether internal, and of the most distressing nature and dangerous tendency." These are the jealousy of the North at the predominance of the slaveholding power, and a determination, manifested through a series of years to check its growth, even at the hazard of a dismemberment of the Union. Time, he thought, would allay this excitement. He closes with the following paragraph:

"From this view, it is evident that the further acquisition of territory to the West and South, involves difficulties of an internal nature, which menace the Union itself. We ought, therefore, to be cautious in making the attempt. Having secured the Mississippi and all its waters, with a slight exception only, and erected States there, ought we not to be satisfied, so far at least as to take no step in that direction which is not approved by all the members, or at least a majority of those who accomplished our Revolution."

It will be well for herself if the South can learn that the danger of Disunion is more imminent now than it has ever been, though perhaps she calculates, and it may be, not without reason, on the subserviency of her Northern vassals, who have heretofore borne so much, that anything more can hardly add to the burden. But for the slave, Annexation is to be dreaded like a curse from God. A few days more, and the question will be settled, at least for the present.—G.

Pro-Slavery in New-York.

Not that pro-slavery in this city is the exception, for there is little else, but that it has assumed within the past few days a new phasis. A Mr. Robert Grant, who claims to have been an early member of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, delivered a lecture here, week before last, on the incapacity of the negro and Indian races for civilization. In his advertisement he challenged any Abolitionist to meet him in debate and confute his views, and what he is pleased to call his facts. Our friend, Dr. McCune Smith, accepted the challenge, and the debate was held last week at the room of the Society Library. It is worthy of notice that the bills which were issued by Mr. Grant, were headed in large capitals, "PRESERVE THE UNION." This may be considered one of the first indications of the train of events which will follow Annexation, in rendering more rampant the hatred of the negro-race, and in binding upon us more tightly the chains of this accursed Union.

The debate was opened by Mr. Grant, who announced the following propositions, as forming the basis of his argument:

1st. All mankind are divided into families, who were either primarily distinct from each other, or were miraculously separated into different species at some subsequent period, and that no change has taken place since that event, which must have been forty centuries prior to this date.

2d. All families, or species of man or animals, are separated into distinct types. One of the savage, the other of civilized life; and these types are identified by the color of their hair or feathers. Those families of men whose heads are covered with dark or coarse hair, *universal* to the race, combined with a skin either black, brown, or copper colored, are utterly incapable of keeping pace with the white race of men, in civilization and improvements in the arts and sciences, and they are also incapable of maintaining a republican form of government.

3d. The present degraded state of those countries which were once inhabited by the mightiest nations of antiquity, Egypt, Greece and Italy, results from the amalgamation which has taken place between the original white stock and Negroes, Arabs, and other dark races.

4th. The domestic system of slavery at the South is, at this time, a grand conservative principle, for, without the existence of that institution, the southern portion of the United States would now be principally inhabited by a race of half breed Indians and mulattoes, entitled to the civil rights of American citizens, and all history demonstrates that such a population never can, nor never will, live long in harmony, except under a despotic government. Witness Spain, Mexico, and Hayti, and the South American so called republics.

5th. The slaves at the South, taken in the aggregate, enjoy more happiness than those of the same masses of colored population could enjoy in this country under any other circumstances. These slaves will be emancipated, and slavery will cease in the Southern States, at the earliest period that will be mutually beneficial to master and slave, from the operation of natural causes that are now in full action, and entirely distinct from the abolition movements.

The gentleman was unfortunate in the first place, in not understanding his subject, in the second, in underrating his antagonist, and finally, in losing his temper. In his first reply, Dr. Smith, who confined himself to the scientific question as to the unity of the races, entirely demolished the facts of his opponent, and proved the fallacy of the arguments based on those assumptions. Mr. Grant, in his rejoinder, satisfied himself with bare assertion which he did not attempt to substantiate, and a long digression on the comparative size of the facial angle in the black and white races, in which he proved nothing but his own ignorance of what the facial angle is. He had the wit to perceive his own defeat, and was foolish enough to show his consciousness of it, by correcting his first term of "gentleman," as applied to his opponent, into that of "person." Dr. Smith closed the debate by an eloquent defence of his own race, which completely established the fact of their capability of high cultivation, and demolished what little was left of the arguments advanced on the other side.

The audience was a large and intelligent one, and nothing occurred to disturb the harmony of the occasion, except the offering, at the close of the evening, of a resolution, by an English physician, declaring the immeasurable inferiority of Mr. Grant to his opponent. It was a gratuitous reflection upon an already sufficiently discomforted and mortified man, and had better have been omitted.

A Spiritual Shepherd.

The chivalric spirit of the South is not confined to the laity. The clergy are not greater in prayer, or more remarkable for biblical learning, than they are skilful in the whipping of women, and the like pleasant and refined pastimes. They can wield the pistol as well as the prayer book, and handle the cowhide with as much dexterity as the communion-cup. A case in point is given by the Natchez Courier. The Rev. Mr. Lyon, of Natchez, made some charges against the moral character of Mr. Clay, which becoming public through the newspapers, he felt called upon to explain himself to his congregation. In doing so he used language offensive to a Mr. Jack, the editor of a Whig newspaper at Columbus, who called upon the reverend gentlemen, and in default of an apology, knocked him down. Thereupon a scuffle ensued, which resulted in no material injury to either party. On the following Sunday the matter was taken up by Mr. Lyon's congregation, which, probably gratified at the courage displayed by their pious pastor, *passed resolutions* exonerating him from all blame. The Courier does not state what was the subject of the reverend gentleman's discourse on that day, but a very appropriate one might have been preached from the text, "and he smote the servant of the high-priest, and cut off his right ear."

Schools for Colored Children.

The Journal of Commerce says, that in one of the wards of the city of Brooklyn, there are from fifteen to twenty children between the

charge of abducting slaves, may be abridged for years, by a little effort on the part of their friends in the free States. Such a movement, in any event, could do no harm, and would, at least, do so much good, that it would show to the slaveholders that there is a deep, an earnest, and a growing feeling on this subject at the North among all classes:

We have reason to believe that the deliverance of Mr. Work has been brought about mainly by the agency of an aged, but devoted female Abolitionist of this city. It is known to many, that our benevolent friend, Hester Moore, has for a long time felt the deepest interest in the case of the Missouri prisoners, and has labored untiringly in the hopeless task of effecting their deliverance. Day and night the thought of them seemed to be in her mind, and she was continually trying to interest others in their behalf. She circulated petitions to the Governor of Missouri, praying for their release, and contributed and raised money for the benefit of their bereaved families. In the course of her efforts, she happened upon a gentleman of much influence, from Missouri, now a resident of this city, whom she succeeded in interesting in her object. From him she procured a letter to an influential personal friend of Governor Edwards, which she sent simultaneously with one of her petitions. We saw the letter before it was sent, and thought at the time it would be likely, to some extent at least, to effect its object. The next thing we heard was the announcement of Work's pardon.

If we are right in our belief as to the agency that has brought about this desirable end, we have a strong proof of the success that is sure to follow persevering and faithful effort. When a feeble and aged woman can accomplish a task so hopeless, who need despair? Who can excuse themselves on the ground that they have no influence?

Mr. Fairbank Convicted.

The Rev. Mr. Fairbank was put upon his trial at Lexington on the 13th instant. He first made a plea of not guilty, but afterward entered the plea of guilty, and threw himself upon the mercy of the court. He was, however, convicted and sentenced to five years imprisonment in the Penitentiary on each of the three indictments, making fifteen years in all! Horrible! that such things can be in a country professing to be civilized; and yet these events recurring now every month, cause less observation and excitement here at the North, even with all its professions of humanity and morality, than the last snow storm.

For this man's unhappy fate we must feel commiseration, but we cannot but regret that he acted at last the craven. He is reported to have avowed himself, in a short speech in court, as having been an Abolitionist, but pleaded the force of education in palliation of his offence, the enormity of which had become plain to him upon mature reflection. Were he again free, he said, he would neither countenance nor aid the escape of slaves, for although the condition of a few might be ameliorated by such a course, those who were left behind became the more discontented and miserable. It is possible, however, that this story may not be true. I hope it is not. Mr. Fairbank is a native of Centreville, Alleghany county, N. Y. where his father now resides.

The Randolph Will Case.

This case, which has been so long in litigation, is at length decided. It will be remembered that Mr. Randolph died possessed of a very large property, in real and personal estate, and in slaves. Several papers were found after his decease which have been considered in the light of last wills, but the question has been whether there was any which could be legally held so, and which was the true one? It has been claimed that that of 1821 was invalid because he was insane when he wrote it. By it he cut off all his nearest relations from any share in his property, leaving the great bulk of it to a Mr. Bryant, who married one of his neices, but manumitting all the slaves.

This will has been recently established, but a motion being made for a new trial, a compromise was effected, which is said to be satisfactory to all concerned. It is agreed that the slaves shall have their liberty and $30,000, and the rest of the property go to the heirs at law.

Mariner's Family Industrial Society.

The first Annual Report of this Society has been laid upon our table. The object of the Society is to give assistance, by giving work to indigent seamen, and their families. Within the past year they have relieved in this way many persons who otherwise would have been left to pine in penury and neglect. When assistance is needed, where labor cannot be given in exchange, it is given so far as the pecuniary condition of the Society will permit. From the Treasurer's report it appears that nearly three thousand dollars has been expended the past year, a part of which has been used in establishing a seamen's clothing store, in supplying which many persons are employed. It is a noble charity, and well worthy of support.

I hope this Society does not forget the colored seamen and their families. However much others may need their helping hand, this class has a peculiar claim on their attention. The colored people are the outcasts of society, and in many cases are oppressed and hated for crimes to which they are driven for the want of other mans of subsistence. The cruel laws of the South have deprived many of them, who were bred to the sea, of the power of earning a livelihood in the only way for which they are fitted. They are obliged, moreover, to accept lower wages, when they can get any, than white seamen, because there is less demand for them. The curse of prejudice follows them everywhere. But I hope this Society does not forget them.

Jonathan Walker.

A Pennsylvania paper of the 8th instant, says that Capt. Walker has recently made an attempt to break jail. Some kind friend had supplied him with a pickax, with which he had nearly forced open the door of his prison, when the attempt was discovered. No wonder the poor fellow's heart is sick with hope deferred. The Yarmouth (Mass.) Gazette states that a letter has been received from him, in which he writes that he will be liberated on the payment of his fine and costs, amounting to between five and six hundred dollars. Cannot this amount be realized? If those persons, to whom it is more convenient to remit to this city than to Boston, will forward any donations to me at this office, they shall be sent immediately to the Walker Committee.

Portland Mobocracy.

It may not be generally known that our friend, John M. Spear, of Weymouth, Massachusetts, has been dangerously ill since the savage assault made upon him and Stephen S. Foster, in Portland, a month or two since. The fact of the mob was mentioned in the Standard at the time. I cut the following article in relation to the conduct of the civil authorities of that city, from the Portland American:

We understand that the Mayor and Board of Aldermen, on Monday, refused the petition of several gentlemen, that the Rev. J. M. Spear might occupy the City Hall, for the purpose of addressing the people on recent transactions in connection with himself.—*Argus.*

In justice to the Rev. J. M. Spear, and for the information of the community, the "recent transactions" above alluded to, should be fully made known, that the Mayor may receive that share in the glory of these "transactions" which his *courageous* and manly conduct so richly merit.

It should be known that the Rev. Mr. Spear was assailed in the streets of Portland by a bloody mob, and so maltreated that for nearly two months he was confined to his bed, and for several days his life was despaired of. When these facts came to the knowledge of the Mayor, he passed them by with silent indifference, if indeed he did not secretly rejoice at the infamous "transaction." And when application was made for the City Hall, by some of our most respectable citizens, for the purpose of protesting against the barbarous treatment which Mr. Spear had received, and to solicit some aid in his behalf towards defraying the expenses which he had incurred in consequence of such treatment, the request was "promptly refused." Thus giving the mob to understand that they may commit any act, no matter how atrocious, with impunity, upon any one who advocates principles at variance with the majority of the community—and that the city Government will make no efforts to bring to punishment such offenders, but will "promptly refuse" the use of any public building which may be solicited by the citizens to enter their protest against such mobocratic violence.

Had this outrage been committed upon the person of the Rev. Mr. Condit, or the Rev. Dr. Nichols, every pulpit in the city would have been eloquent in denunciation of the murderous act, and the guilty perpetrators would, ere this, have been lodged in the county jail. This the Mayor knows. Why then is he so negligent in the discharge of his duty in the present case? Why, for the reason which he himself assigned on another occasion, that "THIS MAN HAD BEEN SEEN WITH THE COMEOUTERS!"

Henry C. Wright.

This faithful friend to the cause of the slave, lets no opportunity escape him of impressing upon the people wherever he may be, the enormity of slaveholding. The Liverpool Times has the following paragraph:

MR. PRESIDENT TYLER.—It is said that the President of the United States, and his lady, will visit this country in May next. The Rev. Mr. Wright, of Philadelphia, who is at present on a visit at Belfast, has addressed a letter to an Irish paper, in which he speculates as to what sort of a reception will be given in this country to "this presidential man stealer," whom he accuses not only of being a slaveholder and dealer, but of actually selling several of his own children.

The Curse of Cotton.

The wealth of the South is the curse of the slave. The first line in the news from Europe, is that Cotton is higher or lower, and expresses are run at enormous expense from this city to New Orleans to convey the news of the change in the market. But who remembers how full of meaning that single line is to the slave? The advance of a ha'-penny in Liverpool may bring wealth to many a Southern factor, and planter, but it brings only increased wretchedness to the miserable beings who produce the cotton. "Cotton has risen," means much in Wall street, but has a more significant and fearful meaning in the slave huts of the Carolinas and Louisiana.

The following paragraph is from the Charleston Courier. The wealth it speaks of was purchased with the blood and unpaid toil of men, and women, and children:

"Since the discovery that cotton would mature in South Carolina, she has reaped a golden harvest; but it is feared that it has proved a curse rather than a blessing, and we believe that she would at this day be in a far better condition, had the discovery never been made. Cotton has been to South Carolina what the mines of Mexico were to Spain: it has produced us such an abundant supply of all the luxuries and elegances of life, with so little exertion on our part, that we have become enervated and unfitted for other and more laborious pursuits, and unprepared to meet the state of things which sooner or later must come about. Is it out of place here to predict that the day is not far distant, yea, is close at hand, when we shall find that we can no longer live by that which has heretofore yielded us not only a bountiful and sumptuous living at home, but has furnished the means for carrying thousands and tens of thousands of our citizens abroad to squander their gold in other countries—that we have wasted the fruits of a rich, virgin soil, in ease and luxury—and those who have practised sufficient industry and economy to accumulate capital, have left, or are leaving us, to populate other States?"

Anti-Slavery in Kentucky.

Cassius M. Clay and others, have issued a prospectus for a newspaper, to be published weekly, in Lexington, Kentucky, and to be called "The True American." The time has come, they say, when a large portion of the people are prepared to take up the subject of Emancipation, and that "a press is only necessary to give concentrated effort and final success by free conference of opinion and untrammelled discussion." The paper is to be "devoted to gradual and constitutional emancipation, so as at some definite time to place our State upon the firm, safe, and just basis of liberty."

This is the most encouraging sign that has yet greeted us. Who is fool enough now to say that we are putting back emancipation? An Anti-Slavery paper, in a slave State! Thank God for that, and may success attend these noble men.

MASSACHUSETTS ADVANCING.—The Boston Chronicle says, that at a recent hearing of a Liberty Party Committee before the Legislative Committee in Boston, while one of the speakers was endeavoring to establish the position that slaveholding is a crime, he was assured that it was unnecessary to argue that point, as the Committee were entirely convinced already. He subsequently referred to the notorious fact, that this crime was committed by citizens of Massachusetts, and the Committee *called for the proof.* Messrs. Andrews and Stanton promised to furnish it, and the Committee, at their suggestion, promised to get, if possible, from the House, the power to send for persons and papers. It is but seven or eight years since the Executive of that State suggested to the Legislature the propriety of considering whether an Abolitionist was not indictable at common law as a disturber of the peace.

GOOD.—The Senate of Ohio have passed a bill to repeal the law of that State by which blacks and mulattoes are prohibited from testifying in courts of justice against white persons. Yeas 17, nays 16.

SLAVEHOLDING WIT.—The following paragraph is from the Charleston (S. C.) Mercury. It is only the most hardy scoundrels that dare to expose so nakedly their own deformity. He is not utterly lost who still has a sense of shame:

Great Cattle Sale in South Carolina.—Mr. Birney and all *abolitionists* are invited to attend.

We are requested to give notice, that one hundred and fifty rice-field negroes, belonging to the estate of Isaac Ball, to be sold at auction on Friday the 10th instant, by Alonzo J. White, auctioneer and broker, have arrived in the city, and are ready for inspection.

THE SLAVES OF THE "CREOLE."—An important decision has recently been made in New Orleans, in relation to the slaves who so nobly proved their manhood on board the "Creole." A suit was brought by their owners to recover from an insurance company the amount for which they were insured. The Supreme Court decided that "where the insurers of a cargo of slaves are exempted, by the policy, from the risk of insurrection, and the slaves take possession of the vessel by force, turn her from her course, and enter a British port, where they escape, the insurrection must be considered as the cause of the breaking up of the voyage; and the insurers will not be liable."

CHURCH ACTION.—Some of the Mormons, probably not without "prayerful consideration," have come to the conclusion that for Elders to borrow money or horses, and to run away with it or them, is no longer to be endured. When will the Christian Church take as high ground respecting the crime of stealing men? Mr. Young, a leading saint among the Mormons, has published an epistle to the Elders, of which the following is an extract:

"Elders who go abroad and borrow horses or money, and run away with it, will be cut off from the church without ceremony, *and they need not look for that lenity they have had heretofore.*"

A SLIGHT MISTAKE.—The Norridgewock (Me.) Peoples' Press copies an article from the Brattleboro (Vt.) Free Press, headed "Hypocrisy," in which it is stated, with some considerable vituperation and spluttering, that "The Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society has appointed a day of Fasting, Humiliation, and Prayer, in reference to the proposed Annexation of Texas." We respectfully decline the honor done us. We have'n't the sort of grace requisite to do any such thing.

COUNTER ANNEXATION.—The Detroit Daily Advertiser says, in relation to the petition which went from that city for the annexation of Canada, that "they who fancy that this movement is to die away, labor under a very great delusion—at least if the Texas scheme be further pressed."

JAMES G. BIRNEY.—This gentleman has written a letter to the Albany Patriot, requesting that, and all other papers which still keep his name at the head of their columns, as the nominee for the Presidency, to remove it. He thinks it may "be construed as anticipating the nomination to be made by the party."

"Farewell, a long farewell to all my greatness."

"WHITE."—The Judiciary Committee of the Senate of Michigan, have reported against striking the word "white" from that part of the Constitution defining the elective franchise. Michigan is fairly up with the times. She has got so far as to admit the doubt that color is the test of rights.

PACKETS MISSING.—Two of the packets from England to this port are missing. They have been out nearly, if not quite three months. The aggregate number of passengers and crews on board both ships, is 164. Great anxiety is felt for their safety.

THE PROPOSED CONVENTION AT WASHINGTON.—The Albany Patriot announces that this Convention will not be held this season.

☞ We are indebted to the Hon. Charles Hudson, of Massachusetts, and the Hon. E. S. Hamlin, of Ohio, for their speeches in the House, on the Annexation of Texas.

THIS WEEK'S PAPER.—To-day's paper is chiefly filled with the documents recently put forth by the Legislature of Massachusetts. Though long, they are of so much importance that they deserve to be recorded for future reference, and should be read now to understand the position of Massachusetts, which is of no trifling moment at this crisis. The noble letter of Cassius M. Clay, and various communications have been crowded out of the two last papers, but will have an insertion next week.

ERRATUM.—In an article in the Standard of week before last, will the reader make the following correction of a typographical error. For "The runaway of Massachusetts, Mr. Hoar," read "The envoy of Massachusetts."

From our Washington Correspondent.

WASHINGTON CITY, Feb. 22, 1845.

The birthday of the illustrious Washington. On this day grave reflections naturally arise in the mind of the American citizen, with regard to the prospect before him, and with regard to the destiny of his beloved country, and her cherished institutions. The Whigs, to whom some of us looked for opposition to the Annexation of Texas to the United States, are doing their part to effect it. In addition to the speech of Senator Henderson, on yesterday, Mr. Merrick of Maryland, added his weight to the scale in a speech decidedly in favor of the joint resolution from the House. Buchanan and Woodbury, northern men, have spoken on the same side. All those speeches have shown off the weakness and iniquity of their arguments and their scheme, and settle to a demonstration that the interest of the South, and the dough-facedness of the North will nearly, if not quite consummate the passage of this bill of abominations and ruin.

Shall we be peaceful and contented in the possession of the ample, varied, and fertile domain secured to us by the wisdom and perseverance of our patriot fathers? Shall we be privileged to cast around a happy and confiding look upon the green fields of our peaceful neighborhoods, teeming with plenty and partial security under a Government not yet wholly enslaved to the love of spoils, and the traffic in human blood? Shall we be permitted to breathe our last breath, and surrender our souls to our common parent, in the consecrated homes our fathers have built, our mothers have loved, our brothers, our sisters adorned, and our own infant footsteps, have paced; where our last moments may be made happy by the ministrations of the angel hand of vigilant and sleepless love, and be wafted by her hushed and gentle breath from a peaceful, to a more peaceful and a brighter clime? Or shall we die amidst the wreck and ruin of relentless war, where our waning eyes shall fall upon the destruction of our fields, the conflagration of our once peaceful homes, and the war-steed's ironed hoof above our panting hearts; where shall grate upon the ear the clash of arms, the yell of the enfiended mob, the curses of a ruined people; and where the last sound shall be the rattling of the infant's head upon the soldier's spear.

The postage bill which passed the Senate some two weeks since, has not yet come up in the House, and I greatly fear for the people that this darling measure of their creation will not get through this session. They have set apart this evening by candle light for the consideration of the bill establishing the Smithsonian Institute in this city.

You can have no idea of the rush of strangers to this city. The capitol is crowded, our public and many private houses are filled, and our streets are darkened with the throng, whose various motives of interest and curiosity have brought them here. The President elect has rooms at the principal hotel for himself, wife, and two ladies, at $130 per week. Mrs. Tyler is making arrangements for a great entertainment on the eve of their departure from the "White House."

The Southern amalgamation bill, for the admission of Iowa and Florida into the Union, as States, has yet to pass the Senate. There was an item on the eve of its passage in the House worthy of remembrance. Mr. Adams arose and said he would have been glad to have been permitted to make some remarks on so important a question as the admission of a new State in the manner and with the features of Florida, but as he was denied this privilege, he would propose a question directly to the gentleman from Illinois, (Mr. Douglass,) and that question was this. Is the law of Florida, (provided she is admitted,) which bears upon free colored citizens of Massachusetts who may enter the State or her ports, valid? Mr. D. promptly answered that all laws of this nature were null and void, because in violation of the Constitution. This is an important concession, because Judge Douglass is, though a northern man, a friend of the South, and an advocate of the bill.

My next note will, it is likely, give the vote in the Senate on the Texas question, whether for weal or for woe.

The weatheris delightful. O. I. C. U.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

Foreign.

Arrival of the Hibernia—twenty-three days later from England.

The steam packet Hibernia, Captain Byrie, arrived at Boston on Wednesday morning, the 19th, at 7 o'clock, after a passage of fourteen and a half days from Liverpool.

There is no news of the missing packet ships.

Money continued abundant, the Bank of England offering at two and a half per cent. Cotton had, however, declined full one-eighth during the month, and was heavy, notwithstanding that the trade in the manufacturing districts continued good.

Parliament was to meet on the 4th instant, (the day of the steamer's departure,) so that we have not got officially the Queen's speech; but at the customary Parliamentary dinners given before the opening, the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel read to their respective guests the speech as prepared for the occasion; of the contents of which the *Times* of the 4th furnishes a synopsis. Ministers are never apt to commit themselves in the Speech upon any topic, and if the *Times'* synopsis be not guess work, they have been, in this instance, as cautious as usual. The continuance of mutual good understanding with foreign Courts, the prosperous state of the country, &c. are the subject of congratulation. The visits of the King of the French and the Emperor of Russia are properly referred to, with the expression of a hope that they may serve to draw closer the bonds of national amity.

To the consideration of the House of Commons the extension of steam navigation, and the necessity of providing for the defence of commerce by an increase of our naval force, is especially recommended.

The Queen remarks with satisfaction, the abatement of political and party violence in Ireland, and, as the natural consequence, the extensive employment of capital in that country for the measures of public utility.

The success with which the Charitable Bequests Act has met is commented upon.

The attention of Parliament is called to the Bank of Ireland, and the banking system in that country and in Scotland, with a view to their being placed on a more satisfactory footing.

With respect to measures of Finance, her Majesty reminds the House, that Parliament having, by establishing the tax on income, restored the finances of the country from the embarrassed state to which they had been reduced, and that tax being about to expire, it will be for the wisdom of Parliament to consider whether it may not be continued for a further period, so as to give stability to our finances, and afford the means of reducing other taxation. It will be, however, recommended, that whatever is done in this respect, the Legislature will see the necessity of pursuing such a course as shall leave our financial system safe and unimpaired.

The Queen and Prince Albert left Windsor Castle for Buckingham Palace on the 3d. On the same morning the American minister, with Mr. and Mrs. Everett, who had been on a visit to the castle, also left.

On the 31st of January, the American minister entertained a distinguished party at dinner at his residence in Grosvenor Place.

Several changes of some importance had been recently made in the ministerial arrangements. The most important of these is the retirement of Mr. W. E. Gladstone from the office of President of the Board of Trade. He is succeeded in the Presidency of the Board by Lord Dalhousie, the Vice President: The new President of the Board is not admitted to a seat in the Cabinet.

A vacancy in the Secretaryship of Ireland, an office of some importance, occasioned by the resignation of Lord St. Germans, in consequence of his accession to the Peerage on the death of his father, is filled by Sir Thomas Freemantle, Secretary of War.

Sir John Barrow, Baronet, retires from official life, after an honorable service of nearly half a century, as second Secretary of the Admiralty. He will be succeeded by Captain Baillie, R. N. Private Secretary to Lord Haddington.

Mr. Baron Guerney has resigned his office as one of the Barons of the Court of Exchequer, in consequence of continued illness. Mr. Platt, Q. C. has succeeded him.

It has been currently reported that her Majesty has been pleased to appoint Sir Henry Pottinger, Governor of Canada, in place of Sir Charles Metcalfe.

The Church.—The schism in the State Church is likely to be healed by the introduction of some measure in Parliament which shall bring matters to a final settlement.

Whether such a measure will be introduced in the present session is doubtful, but the resignation of Mr. Gladstone, whose opinion on Church matters are known to be strong, was thought by many to give some color to such an expectation. It was thought on the other hand, that the currency question, as affecting Scotland, in which some of his family are deeply interested, is more probably the actuating cause of his retirement. Sir Robert Peel is determined to provide a security for the paper money in that country; he is supported in his views by the other members of the cabinet; and Mr. Gladstone is opposed to any change.

A remarkable correspondence between the Rev. Canon Wodehouse and the Bishop of Norwich had just been published. Mr. Wodehouse tendered the resignation of his living on the ground that he objects to certain parts of the ritual in their literal acceptation. The Bishop refused to accept the resignation, saying that "latitude in subscription" to the articles, homilies, and prayer-book, is unavoidable.

The test which was to be proposed at Oxford, to prevent "latitude in subscription," has been withdrawn, as also has the contemplated resolution of censure on Rev. Mr. Ward, for the opinions expressed in his book of the "Ideal Church."

The question of the rubric, has been brought prominently before the public by a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury to the clergy and laity of his province. The Archbishop recommends the clergy to abstain from any further attempt to introduce changes in the Church service, unless they are acceptable to the laity, and to let matters generally remain as they are, until the "way shall be prepared for a final settlement." In consequence of this letter, the Bishop of Exeter has withdrawn from the contest, with the laity of his diocese, and has declared that he thankfully accepts the prospect of an adjustment of their present diversities by some general measure which shall have the sanction of the whole Church.

Before this, the greatest excitement had prevailed in Exeter, against the Rev. W. Courtenay, the curate of St. Sidwell Church. This gentleman, who is one of the strictest Puseyites, had insisted upon wearing the surplice in preaching, and had revived many of the obsolete customs, &c. He was accused at a meeting of rote payers of pulling off a requisition from the church doors, and trampling it under foot—of allowing a corpse to remain forty minutes in the churchyard, one evening, without burying it—of keeping a couple waiting two hours upon some occasion, who had come to him to be married, &c. &c. Mr. Courtenay was present at the meeting, but, attempting to answer, was obliged to retire amid groans and yells. The next Sunday, a crowd of some five thousand persons, collected about his church. Mr. Sidwell upon this occasion preached in his gown, and though no violence was done, the police were obliged to see the reverend gentleman home. The Bishop of Exeter accordingly wrote to him a letter, advising him to give way, and not persist in acting against the public will. The excitement was therefore likely to subside.

The Great Britain is to start for this port next August.

The Electric Telegraph from London to Southampton and Gosport is completed, and a successful trial of its powers was made a few days before the steamer left. Gosport is distant from London eighty-eight miles. The telegraph was constructed by Messrs. Cooke and Wheatstone, who have taken out a patent for it. Mr. Cooke left London by an afternoon train, and after an hour passed in fixing the wires at the Gosport office, at about ten o'clock, the first signal was despatched for London. Four or five minutes of intense anxiety elapsed before any reply was received, when the attendant there, excused his delay, on the ground of having fallen asleep before the fire. The signals then proceeded and were replied to, with the utmost precision, until a late hour.

On the following day, the experiments were repeated with equal success. No perceptible time was occupied in transmission.

IRELAND.

As we have already seen, the Charitable Bequests Act had created a difference of opinion not only among the Catholic laity, but among the higher orders of the clergy. Our previous accounts informed us of the rumor that the Government had opened a negotiation with the Pope, for the purpose of connecting the Irish Catholic Church with the State, either by making a provision for the clergy, or by obtaining a *concordat*, giving the crown the nomination of the prelates.

This rumor apparently took all parties by surprise, but before they had much time for the expression of public opinion on the subject, Archbishop Crolly, the Catholic Primate of Ireland, published a letter addressed to him by the Propaganda, at the command of the Pope, charging him to admonish all ecclesiastics, and especially those of Episcopal rank, to abstain from taking any part in political meetings, or dinners, and "studiously to avoid what may even lightly excite or agitate the flock committed to them." Mr. O'Connell at once pronounced this not to be a "canonical document," and the Primate consequently thought it necessary to publish a letter to Mr. O'Connell, expressing his "surprise and sorrow that he had ventured" to make such an assertion, and stating that the document had been submitted to all the prelates of his Church, who had agreed to abide by its injunctions.

As to the *concordat*, all excitement upon that subject has been quelled by a letter from Lord Heytesbury to Archbishop Murray, informing him "that he has been instructed to give to him and Archbishop Crolly, the strongest assurances, on the part of the Government, that there has never existed the slightest intention of entering into any negotiation with the Papal See on the subject of a concordat."

In the meantime, the letter received by the Primate from the Propaganda is so obviously directed against the repeal agitation, that it has aroused a general spirit of hostility to the Pope, among all classes of repealers. Mr. O'Connell has apologized to Archbishop Crolly for stating that the rescript of the Propaganda was not a canonical document. In a letter which he has addressed to that prelate, he retracts "at once and unequivocally" any assertion of his that may apply to the document as being uncanonical, and adds, that if his private opinion were otherwise, he would at once bow to the authority with which the document is now clothed. At the Repeal Association, Mr. O'Connell denied that the rescript had anything to do with the repeal agitation. He declared that its object was not to interfere with the laity or with repeal, but was simply intended to keep up and promote the spirit of benevolence and charity.

He admitted, however, with expressions of regret, that there was some truth in the statement that the discussion produced by the bequests act, had tended to damp the agitation for repeal. He said that though the concordat was denied, something more injurious was meditated; and he proposed that Lord French and his son, Mr. John O'Connell, should be sent to Rome as delegates from the Association, in order to lay their case before the Pope, and implore his Holiness not to thwart them in their exertions to obtain a restoration of their domestic Legislature. No Protestant speakers in the days of "No Popery" agitation could have surpassed the leading Catholic members of the Association, in the vehemence of their protestations against the Pope's right to interfere in the temporal affairs of the people of Ireland.

The meeting on Monday, the 20th, was densely crowded; it having been announced that the Liberator would be present. Mr. Smith O'Brien was in the chair. Mr. John O'Connell spoke at some length, and observed, in conclusion, that "if a war came, they would have a redress of grievances, for England's infirmity was Ireland's opportunity."

The Liberator then delivered himself of a regular repeal speech, denouncing "ascendancy,"—demanding that the press, education, religion, Ireland should be emancipated—referring to the injuries inflicted by the Union—declaring that he would not attend his parliamentary duties during the ensuing session, and, in conclusion, moving that a committee be appointed to consider what course the repeal members ought to pursue in that respect. The rent for the week was £395 5s. 3d.

FRANCE.

Only with the skin of his teeth, M. Guizot has been able to preserve himself and the present ministry against the opposition. There had been two divisions on the Tahiti affair, the numbers being close, and the voting open. One of the divisions was so near that the opposition claimed the majority, but the President decided against them; the second was also nearly even, but the ballot was not taken until Monday, when the Ministers had a majority of eight. This excited the more surprise, as every one regarded their defeat as certain, and it appears they would have been defeated, if some of the Legitimist party had not come to their aid. It was a mere struggle for place; but the general tone of the debate in the Chambers, as well as in the Peers, was, if not friendly, much less acrimonious towards England than the debates of the last and the previous sessions.

The number of conservative deputies present at the meeting of the Chamber of Deputies, on Wednesday, the 29th, was at the opening one hundred and seventy, which swelled at the close to two hundred and eleven. The adhesion to ministers of hitherto dissenting members were no less than 47. A deputation was named to wait on the President of the Council in the name of the whole assembly, to ask the cabinet, through him, to continue the direction of affairs. Marshal Soult, replied, in his own name and that of the cabinet, that neither he nor his colleagues would desert. The Minister for Foreign Affairs replied to the same effect. The King at the same time thanked the Deputies for this loyal address, expressing his concurrence in the general policy of the ministry.

We read in the *Constitutionnel*, that "the Minister of the interior is reported to have made known to a great many members that the chamber will be dissolved after the present session, and that the general election will be held in November."

ALGIERS.

The greatest tranquillity reigns throughout Algiers—such is the safety of the roads, that the diligences are no longer protected by a military escort. Abd-el-Kader has not moved a single step since the treaty of Tangier; his adherents have, in a great part deserted him, and those who remain faithful are in such a deplorable condition that they live on the charity of the Angads and Beni-Snassens.

SPAIN.

Letters from Bayonne of the 23d January confirm the news of the arrest of the unfortunate Zurbano. It appears that the rumor of his escape into Portugal had been circulated by his friends with a view to lull the suspicions of the Government, and enable him to avail himself of a favorable moment for making his escape. That opportunity having, as he fancied, arrived, he left his hiding place, near Logrono, with his brother-in-law Cayo Muro, but was immediately tracked and seized. The Governor of Logrono forthwith placed the prisoners *in capella*, and in twenty four hours from their capture caused them to be shot. Zurbano met his fate with a gallantry and fortitude befitting his reputation as a soldier.

The seizure of Zurbano led to the summoning of a cabinet council, the result of which was the expedition of an order to suspend the execution of that unfortunate man—an order which arrived too late.

The *Sentinella* of Bayonne says that a priest who had taken part in the revolt of Zurbano, and who was concealed with him in the house where he was arrested, blew out his brains with a pistol, to prevent his being captured.

A free pardon has been granted to General Prim; the result of his mother's intercession with Queen Isabella. An extraordinary courier was despatched, from Madrid, to communicate the intelligence to General Prim, who was confined at the castle of St. Sabastian, at Cadiz. Madrid has been assigned to the General as his place of residence.

On the 20th ultimo, the Senate adopted the bill relative to the reform of the Constitution, by a majority of seventy-four against twelve. In the Chamber of Deputies, the Clergy Dotation bill was likewise voted by a considerable majority.

Latest from Texas.—By the arrival of the steam ship John S. McKim, at New Orleans on the 13th instant, Galveston dates up to the 9th instant are received.

The news from the interior represents everything as quiet.

The Texan Congress adjourned on the 3d instant. Previous to the adjournment, the nominations of Gen. Terrell as Charge d' Affaires to England and France, and of Colonel Reily as Charge to the United States, were rejected by the Senate. It is said the chief cause of opposition to those gentlemen was their hostility to Annexation.

Congress refused to receive the petition of a meeting of the citizens of Rush county against Annexation, from which it may be inferred how strongly the members yet are in favor of that measure.

Col. William G. Cooke has been appointed Secretary of War by President Jones.

It was rumored that Col. Kauffman would be appointed Charge to the United States.

Jose Antonio Navarro, the last of the Texan Santa Fé prisoners, who recently escaped from Mexico, has been treated with marked honors and attentions in Texas.

A correspondence has been published between Mr. Donaldson, United States Charge d'Affaires, and the Government of Texas, mainly on the subject of Annexation, together with a report from a Committee of the House, on the same topic. Mr. Donaldson expresses all confidence in the ultimate success of the measure, and earnestly hopes the people of Texas will not abandon it on account of the defeat of the late treaty. In reply, he is assured by the Government of Texas that this question "will not be affected by any opposing or unfavorable action on the part of the Executive of Texas." This assurance, says the Galveston News, will be received by the people of Texas with much satisfaction. The report sets forth the immediate advantages of Annexation.

The Committee on Com. Moore's case had reported, recommending his restoration to office and the payment of his *pro rata* of the last year's appropriation.

The Telegraph states that the difficulty between Gen. Green and President Jones has been adjusted. Gen. Green, it is said, had signified his determination to become a citizen of Texas, and had written to the United States Secretary of State to that effect, and also desiring his appointment as Consul to Galveston to be annulled, before the misunderstanding occurred.

Nine Bremen vessels have arrived at Galveston since the first of November, with an average of one hundred and fifty passengers. It is computed that 1,500 German immigrants have arrived within three or four months.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

For the Standard—from Feb. 8th, to Feb. 23d, 1845.

Thos. D. Tomlinson, Mt. Pleasant, Ohio,	$2	00
Wm. Fox, Seneca Falls, N. Y.	1	00
Wendell Phillips, Boston,	2	00
Rev. J. C. Phillips, Methuen, Mass.	2	00
Geo. W. Green, Northfield Mass.	2	00
Hiram A. Morse, Holliston, Mass.	2	00
Elizabeth Thayer, Millville, Mass.	4	00
Wm. Durfee, Palmyra, N. Y.	2	00
A. Hicklin, Limaville, Ohio,	1	00
J. H. Ames, Bradford, N. H.	1	00
J. Wilde, Quaker Springs, N. Y.	2	50
Peace Wright, Knox, Ohio,	1	00
N. C. Gove, Lincoln, N. H.	1	00
Perrin Bliss, Worcester, Mass.	1	83
Charles Sumner, Boston,	4	00
Thos. Fawcett, Belmont, Ohio,	2	00
A. W. Allen, Union Springs, N. Y.	1	00
Nathaniel Sands, Canterbury, Ct.	2	00
Asa D. Wright, Denmark, N. Y.	2	00
Wm. Johnson, New-York,		75
J. W. Remington, Oriskany,	4	00
W. M. Griffith, E. Bethlehem, Pa.	2	00
A. J. Hinckley, Mansfield Centre, Ct.	3	00
J. W. Pillsbury, Henniker, N. H.	1	00
Phillip R. Meriam, Ashburnham, Mass.	2	00
	——	49 08

Donations.

Joseph Newbery, New-York,		50
J. W. Trayner, Chester Co. Pa. (pledge,)	5	00
E. S. Abdy, London Esq.	24	15

By Frederic Douglass.

Portsmouth, N. H. Female A. S. Society,	5	00
New Hampshire " " "	51	00
New Bedford, Mass. " " "	15	00
Cambridge " " "	5	00
Pennsylvania " " "	61	00
Salem friends, by Elizn Kinney,	4	00
Georgetown, Mass. friends,	6	00
West Newbury, "	4	00
Bradford, "	5	00
Newburyport, friends, by Richard Phemner,	11	00
Plymouth " by Bourne Spooner,	13	00
Providence, R. I. "	5	00
Oliver Dennet, Portland, Me.	5	00
Newell Foster, " "		50
Saco friends,	15	00
North Yarmouth, "	1	30
Kennebunk, "	12	00
Scarboro, "	1	25
Great Falls, N. H. "	5	50
Dover, " "	6	00
Concord, " "	19	00
Boscawen, " "	8	00
Weare, " "	7	00
New Boston, " "	3	50
Luther Melendy, Amherst, N. H.	1	50
Julia Ann Chickering, " "	5	00
Milford friends,	6	00
Wilton, "	1	45
Henry Abbot, Wilton,	3	00
Mrs. Wm. Abbot, "	1	00
—— Mason, "	3	25
New Ipswich friends,	3	00
Peterboro, "	8	00
	——	330,90
Total amount,		$379,98

FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer.

NOTICES.

CONVENTIONS IN WESTERN NEW-YORK.

Mass Conventions will be held in the following places in Western New-York, and will be attended by J. B. Sanderson, and G. B. Stebbins, of Massachusetts, and W. W. Brown, and J. W. Hurn, of this State. At

Port Byron,	"	March 5th and 6th.
Seneca Falls,	" "	12th and 13th.
Northville, Cayuga County,	"	19th and 20th.

The above named individuals will attend and hold meetings in different places in the county where mass meetings are to be held, and the friends in the county will please make arrangements for the meetings in their different localities. *Friends of the slave*, arouse!! Let Western New-York be redeemed! For the last year but little has been accomplished. Let it be made up by renewd effort the year to come! Send in your contributions to aid the Society in carrying on the great work we have undertaken, for whithout *money* our movements will of necessity be embarrassed. We need your help. Will each contribute their mite to sustain and carry forward the good cause. Eloquent and able advocates are in the field, and must be sustained.

Those who wish to contribute will have their contributions duly acknowledged through the Standard, by sending them to Henry Bush, Treasurer, Rochester, or to

F. W. CAPRON,
Gen'l. Agt. of Western N. Y. A. S. Soc.
Rochester, N. Y. Feb. 13th, 1845.

ANTI-SLAVERY LECTURES.

HENRY RICHARDS CRUMMELL, Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture in behalf of the same, at

Holliston,	Thursday, "	27.
Upton,	Sunday, March	2.
Northbridge,	Tuesday, "	4.

☞ Our anti-slavery friends in these towns are requested to make suitable arrangements.

Poetry.

From the Evening Mirror.

THE RAVEN.

We are permitted to copy (in advance of publication) from the second number of the American Review, the following remarkable poem, by EDGAR POE. In our opinion, it is the most effective single example of "fugitive poetry" ever published in this country; and unsurpassed in English poetry for subtle conception, masterly ingenuity of versification, and consistent sustaining of imaginative lift and "pokerishness." It it one of these "dainties bred in a book" which we *feed* on. It will stick to the memory of everybody who reads it.

Once upon a midnight dreary, while I pondered, weak and weary,
Over many a quaint and curious volume of forgotten lore,
While I nodded, nearly napping, suddenly there came a tapping,
As of some one gently rapping, rapping at my chamber door.
"'Tis some visitor," I muttered, "tapping at my chamber door—
Only this, and nothing more."

Ah, distinctly I remember it was in the bleak December,
And each separate dying ember wrought it's ghost upon the floor.
Eagerly I wished the morrow;—vainly I had tried to borrow
From my books surcease of sorrow—sorrow for the lost Lenore—
For the rare and radiant maiden whom the angels name Lenore—
Nameless here for evermore.

And the silken sad uncertain rustling of each purple curtain
Thrilled me—filled me with fantastic terrors never felt before;
So that now, to still the beating of my heart, I stood repeating
"'Tis some visitor entreating entrance at my chamber door—
Some late visitor entreating entrance at my chamber door;—
This it is, and nothing more.

Presently my soul grew stronger; hesitating then no longer,
"Sir," said I, "or Madam, truly your forgiveness I implore;
But the fact is, I was napping, and so gently you came rapping,
And so faintly you came tapping, tapping at my chamber door,
That I scarce was sure I heard you"—here I opened wide the door;—
Darkness there, and nothing more.

Deep into that darkness peering, long I stood there wondering, fearing,
Doubting, dreaming dreams no mortal ever dared to dream before;
But the silence was unbroken, and the darkness gave no token,
And the only word there spoken was the whispered word, "Lenore!"
This I whispered, and an echo murmured back the word, "Lenore!"
Merely this, and nothing more.

Then into the chamber turning, all my soul within me burning,
Soon I heard again tapping somewhat louder than before,
"Surely," said I, "surely that is something at my window lattice;
Let me see, then, what thereat is, and this mystery explore—
Let my heart be still a moment, and this mystery explore;—
'Tis the wind, and nothing more."

Open here I flung the shutter, when, with many a flirt and flutter,
In there stepped a stately raven of the saintly days of yore;
Not the least obeisance made he; not an instant stopped or stayed he;
But with mien of lord or lady, perched above my chamber door—
Perched upon a bust of Pallas just above my chamber door—
Perched, and sat, and nothing more.

Then this ebony bird beguiling my sad fancy into smiling,
By the grave and stern decorum of the countenance it wore,
"Though thy crest be shorn and shaven, thou," I said, "art sure no craven,
Ghastly grim and ancient raven' wandering from the Nightly shore—
Tell me what thy lordly name is on the Night's Plutonian shore!"
Quoth the raven, "Nevermore!"

Much I marvelled this ungainly fowl to hear discourse so plainly,
Though its answer little meaning—little relevancy bore;
For we cannot help agreeing that no living human being
Ever yet was blest with seeing bird above his chamber door,
Bird or beast upon the sculptured bust above his chamber door—
With such a name as "Nevermore!"

But the raven, sitting lonely on the placid bust, spoke only
That one word, as if his soul in that one word he did outpour,
Nothing farther than he uttered—not a feather then he fluttered—
Till I scarcely more than muttered, "Other friends have flown before—
On the morrow *he* he will leave me, as my hopes have flown before."
Quoth the raven, "Nevermore."

Startled at the stillness broken by reply so aptly spoken,
"Doubtless," said I, "what it utters is its only stock and store,
Caught from some unhappy master whom unmerciful disaster
Followed fast and followed faster—so when Hope he would adjure,
Stern Despair returned, instead of the sweet Hope he dared adjure,
That sad answer, "Nevermore!"

But the raven still beguiling all my sad soul into smiling,
Straight I wheeled a cushion seat in front of bird, and bust, and door;
Then upon the velvet sinking, I betook myself to linking
Fancy unto fancy, thinking what this ominous bird of yore—
What this grim, ungainly, ghastly, gaunt, and ominous bird of yore
Meant in croaking "Nevermore."

This I sat engaged in guessing, but no syllable expressing
To the fowl whose fiery eyes now burned into my bosom's core;
This and more I sat divining, with my head at ease reclining
On the cushion's velvet lining that the lamp-light gloated o'er,
But whose velvet violet lining with the lamp-light gloating o'er
She shall press, ah, nevermore.

Then, methought, the air grew denser, perfumed from an unseen censer
Swung by angels whose faint foot-falls tinkled on the tufted floor.
"Wretch," I cried, "thy God hath lent thee—by these angels he hath sent thee
Respite—respite and Nepenthe from thy memories of Lenore!"
Quaff, oh quaff this kind Nepenthe, and forget this lost Lenore!"
Quoth the raven, "Nevermore."

"Prophet!" said I, "thing of evil!—prophet still, if bird or devil!—
Whether Tempter sent, or whether tempest tossed thee here ashore,
Desolate, yet all undaunted, on this desert land enchanted—
On this home by Horror haunted—tell me truly, I implore—
Is there—is there balm in Gilead?—tell me—tell me, I implore!"
Quoth the raven, "Nevermore."

"Prophet!" said I, "thing of evil!—prophet still, if bird or devil!
By that Heaven that bends above us—by that God we both adore—
Tell this soul with sorrow laden if, within the distant Aidenn,
It shall clasp a sainted maiden whom the angels name Lenore—
Clasp a rare and radiant maiden whom the angels name Lenore?"
Quoth the raven, "Nevermore."

"Be that word our sign of parting, bird or fiend!" I shrieked, upstarting—
"Get thee back into the tempest and the Night's Plutonian shore!
Leave no black plume as a token of that lie thy soul hath spoken!
Leave my loneliness unbroken!—quit the bust above my door!
Take thy beak from out my heart, and take thy form from off my door!"
Quoth the raven, "Nevermore."

And the raven, never flitting, still is sitting, still is sitting
On the pallid bust of Pallas just above my chamber door;
And his eyes have all the seeming of a demon that is dreaming,
And the lamp-light o'er him streaming throws his shadow on the floor;
And my soul from out that shadow that lies floating on the floor
Shall be lifted—nevermore!

Miscellany.

THE CHIMES!

A Goblin Story of some Bells that Rang an Old Year Out, and a New Year In.

BY CHARLES DICKENS, ESQ.

THE SECOND QUARTER.

(Continued.)

"It's true enough in the main," he said, "master. I could sift grain from husk here and there, but let it be as 'tis. What odds? I have gone against his plans; to my misfortun'. I cant help it; I should do the like to-morrow. As to character, them gentlefolks will search and search, and pry and pry, and have it as free from spot or speck in us, afore they'll help us to a dry good word! Well! I hope they don't lose good opinion as easy as we do, or their lives is strict indeed, and hardly worth the keeping. For myself, master, I never took with that hand"—holding it before him—"what was n't my own; and never held it back from work, however hard, or poorly paid. Whoever can deny it, let him chop it off! But when work won't maintain me like a human creetur; when my living is so bad, that I am hungry, out of doors and in; when I see a whole working life begin that way, go on that way, and end that way, without a chance or change; then I say to the gentlefolks "Keep away from me! Let my cottage be. My doors is dark enough without your darkening of 'em more. Don't look for me to come up into the Park to help the show when there's a birthday, or a fine speech-making, or what not. Act your plays and games without me, and be welcome to 'em. We've naught to do with one another. I'm best let alone!"

Seeing that the child in his arms had opened her eyes, and was looking about her in wonder, he checked himself to say a word or two of foolish prattle in her ear, and stand her on the ground beside him. Then slowly winding one of her long tresses round and round his rough forefinger like a ring, while she hung about his dusty leg, he said to Trotty:

"I'm not a cross-grained man by natur', I believe; and easy satisfied, I'm sure. I bear no ill-will against none of 'em: I only want to live like one of the Almighty's creeturs. I can't, I don't; and so there's a pit dug between me and them that can and do. There's others like me. You might tell 'em off by hundreds and by thousands, sooner than by ones."

"Trotty knew he spoke the truth in this, and shook his head, to signify as much.

"I've got a bad name this way," said Fern; "and I'm not likely, I'm afeard, to get a better. Ta'nt lawful to be out of sorts, and I AM out of sorts, though God knows I'd sooner bear a cheerful spirit if I could. Well! I don't know as the Alderman could hurt *me* much by sending me to jail; but without a friend to speak a word for me, he might do it; and you see—!" pointing downward with his finger at the child.

"She has a beautiful face," said Trotty.

"Why, yes!" replied the other, in a low voice, as he gently turned it up with both his hands towards his own, and looked upon it steadfastly. "I've thought so, when my hearth was very cold, and cupboard very bare. I thought so t'other night, when we were taken like two thieves. But they—they should n't try the little face too often; should they, Lilian? That's hardly fair upon a man!"

He sunk his voice so low, and gazed upon her with an air so stern and strange, that Toby, to divert the current of his thoughts, inquired if his wife were living.

"I never had one," he returned, shaking his head. "She's my brother's child: an orphan. Nine year old, though you'd hardly think it; but she's tired and worn out now. They'd have taken care on her, the Union; eight-and-twenty mile away from where we live; between four walls (as they took care of my old father when he could n't work no more, though he did n't trouble 'em long;) but I took her instead, and she's lived with me ever since. Her mother had a friend once, in London here. We are trying to find her, and to find work, too; but it's a large place. Never mind. More room for us to walk about in Lilly?"

Meeting the child's eyes with a smile which melted Toby more than tears, he shook him by the hand.

"I don't so much as know your name," he said; "but I've opened my heart free to you, for I'm thankful to you; with good reason. I'll take your advice, and keep clear of this——"

"Justice," suggested Toby.

"Ah!" he said. "If that's the name they give him. This Justice. And to-morrow will try whether there's better fortune to be met with, somewhere near London. Good night. A Happy New Year!"

"Stay!" cried Trotty, catching at his hand, as he relaxed his grip. "Stay! The New Year can never be happy to me, if we part like this. The New Year never can be happy to me, if I see the child and you go wandering away you don't know where, without a shelter for your heads. Come home with me! I'm a poor man, living in a poor place; but I can give you a lodging for one night, and never miss it. Come home with me! I'll take her!" cried Trotty, lifting up the child, "A pretty one! I'd carry twenty times her weight, and never know I'd got it. Tell me if I go too quick for you. I'm very fast. I always was!" Trotty said this, taking about six of his trotting paces to one stride of his fatigued companion; and with his thin legs quivering again, beneath the load he bore.

"Why, she's as light," said Trotty, trotting in his speech as well as in his gait; for he could n't bear to be thanked, and dreaded a moment's pause; "as light as a feather. Lighter than a Peacock's feather—a great deal lighter. Here we are, and here we go? Round this first turning to the right, Uncle Will, and past the pump, and sharp off up the first passage to the left, right opposite the public-house. Here we are, and here we go. Cross over, Uncle Will, and mind the kidney pieman at the corner! Here we are, and here we go! Down the Mews here, Uncle Will, and stop at the back door, with 'T. Veck, Ticket Porter, wrote upon a board; and here we are, and here we go, and here we are indeed, my precious Meg, surprising you."

With which words Trotty, in a breathless state, set the child down before his daughter in the middle of the floor. The little visitor looked once at Meg; and doubting nothing in that face, but trusting everything she saw there; ran into her arms.

"Here we are, and here we go!" cried Trotty, running round the room, and choking audibly. "Here! Uncle Will! Here's a fire you know! Why don't you come to the fire? Oh, here we are, and here we go! Meg, my precious darling, where's the kettle? Here it is, and here it goes, and it 'll bile in no time!"

Trotty had really picked up the kettle somewhere or other in the course of his wild career, and now put it on the fire; while Meg, seating the child in a warm corner, knelt down on the ground before her, and pulled off her shoes, and dried her wet feet on a cloth. Aye, and she laughed at Trotty, too—so pleasantly, so cheerfully, that Trotty could have blessed her where she kneeled: for he had seen that, when they entered, she was sitting by the fire in tears.

"Why, father!" said Meg. "You are crazy to-night, I think. I don't know what the bells would say to that. Poor little feet. How cold they are!"

"Oh, they're warmer now!" exclaimed the child. "They're quite warm now!"

"No, no, no," said Meg. "We have n't rubbed 'em half enough. We're so busy. So busy! And when they're done, we'll brush out the damp hair; and when that's done, we'll bring some color to the poor pale face with fresh water; and when that's done, we'll be so gay, and brisk, and happy—!"

The child, in a burst of sobbing, clasped her round the neck; caressed her fair cheek with its hand; and said, "Oh, Meg! oh dear Meg!"

Toby's blessing could have done no more. Who could do more.

"Why father!" cried Meg, after a pause.

"Here I am, and here I go, my dear," said Trotty.

"Good gracious me!" cried Meg. "He's crazy." He's put the dear child's bonnet on the kettle, and hung the lid behind the door!"

"I didn 't go to do it, my love," said Trotty, hastily repairing his mistake. "Meg, my dear?"

Meg looked towards him, and saw that he had elaborately stationed himself behind the chair of their male visitor, where, with many mysterious gestures, he was holding up the sixpence he had earned.

"I see, my dear," said Trotty, "as I was coming in, half an ounce of tea lying somewhere on the stairs; and I'm pretty sure there was a bit of bacon, too. As I don't remember where it was, exactly; I'll go myself and try to find 'em."

With this inscrutible artifice, Toby withdrew to purchase the viands he had spoken of, for ready money, at Mrs. Chickenstalker's; and presently came back, pretending that he had not been able to find them, at first, in the dark.

"But here they are, at last," said Trotty, setting out the tea-things, "all correct! I was pretty sure it was tea, and a rasher. So it is. Meg, my pet, if you'll just make the tea, while your unworthy father toasts the bacon, we shall be ready, immediately. It's a curious circumstance," said Trotty, proceeding in his cookery, with the assistance of his toasting-fork, "curious, but well known to my friends, that I never care, myself, for rashers, nor for tea. I like to see other people enjoy 'em," said Trotty, speaking very loud, to impress the fact upon his guest, "but to me, as food, they're disagreeable."

Yet Trotty sniffed the savor of the hissing bacon—ah!—as if he liked it; and when he poured the boiling water in the tea-pot, looking lovingly down into the depths of that snug cauldron, and suffered the fragrant steam to curl about his nose, and wreathe his head and face in a thick cloud. However, for all this, he neither ate nor drank, except at the very beginning, a mere morsel for form's sake, which he appeared to eat with infinite relish, but declared was perfectly uninteresting to him.

No. Trotty's occupation was, to see Will Fern and Lilian eat and drink; and so was Meg's. And never did spectators at a city dinner or court banquet find such high delight in seeing others feast—although it were a monarch or a pope—as those two did, in looking on that night. Meg smiled on Trotty, Trotty laughed at Meg. Meg shook her head, and made belief to clap her hands, applauding Trotty; Trotty conveyed, in dumb-show, unintelligible narratives of how, and when, and where he had found their visitors, to Meg; and they were happy. Very happy.

"Although," thought Trotty, sorrowfully, as he watched Meg's face; "that match is broken off, I see!"

"Now, I'll tell you what," said Trotty, after tea. "The little one, she sleeps with Meg, I know."

"With good Meg!" cried the child, caressing her. "With Meg."

"That's right," said Trotty. "And I shouldn 't wonder if she kiss Meg's father, wont she? *I'm* Meg's father."

Mightily delighted Trotty was, when the child went timidly towards him; and having kissed him, fell back upon Meg again.

"She's as sensible as Solomon," said Trotty. "Here we come, and here we—no, we don't—I don't mean that—I—what was I saying, Meg, my precious?"

Meg looked towards their guest, who leaned upon the chair, and with his face turned from her, fondled the child's head, half hidden in her lap.

"To be sure," said Toby. "To be sure! I don't know what I'm rambling on about, to-night. My wits are wool-gathering, I think. Will Fern, you come along with me. You're tired to death, and broken down for want of rest. You come along with me."

The man still played with the child's curls, still leaned upon Meg's chair, still turned away his face. He did n't speak, but in his rough coarse fingers, clenching and expanding in the fair hair of the child, there was an eloquence that said enough.

"Yes, yes," said Trotty, answering unconsciously what he saw expressed in his daughter's face. "Take her with you, Meg. Get her to bed. There! Now Will, I'll show you where to lie. It's not much of a place—only a loft—but having a loft, I always say, is one of the great conveniences of living in a mews; and till this coach-house and stable gets a better let, we live here cheap. There's plenty of sweet hay up there, belonging to a neighbor: and it's as clean, as hands, and Meg can make it. Cheer up! Don't give way. A new heart for New Year, always!"

The hand released from the child's hair, had fallen, trembling, into Trotty's hand. So Trotty, talking without intermission, led him out as tenderly and easily as if he had been a child himself.

Returning before Meg, he listened for an instant at the door of her little chamber; an adjoining room. The child was murmuring a simple prayer before lying down to sleep; and when she had remembered Meg's name, "Dearly, dearly,"—so her words ran—Trotty heard her stop and ask for his.

It was some short time before the foolish little old fellow could compose himself to mend the fire, and draw his chair to the warm hearth. But when he had done so, and had trimmed the light, he took his newspaper from his pocket, and began to read. Carelessly at first, and skimming up and down the columns; but with an earnest and a sad attention, very soon.

For this same dreaded paper re-directed Trotty's thoughts into the channel they had taken all that day, and which the day's events had so marked out and shaped. His interest in the two wanderers had set him on another course of thinking, and a happier one, for a time; but being alone again, and reading of the crimes and violences of the people, he relapsed into his former train.

In this mood, he came to an account (and it was not the first he had ever read) of a woman who had laid her desperate hands, not only on her own life, but on that of her young child. A crime so terrible, and so revolting to his soul, dilated with the love of Meg, that he let the journal drop, and fell back in his chair, appalled.

"Unnatural and cruel!" Toby cried. "Unnatural and cruel! None but people who were bad at heart: born bad: who had no business on the earth, could do such deeds. It's too true, all I've heard to-day; too just, too full of proof. We're Bad!"

The Chimes took up the words so suddenly—burst out so loud, and clear, and sonorous—that the Bells seemed to strike him in his chair.

And what was that they said?

"Toby Veck, Toby Veck, waiting for you, Toby! Toby Veck, Toby Veck, waiting for you Toby! Come and see us, come and see us, Drag him to us, drag him to us, Haunt and haunt him, haunt and haunt him, Break his slumbers, break his slumbers! Toby Veck, Toby Veck, door open wide, Toby, Toby Veck, Toby Veck, door open wide, Toby—" then fiercely back to their impetuous strain again, and ringing in the very bricks and plaster on the walls.

Toby listened. Fancy, fancy! His remorse for having run away from them that afternoon! No, no. Nothing of the kind. Again, again, and yet a dozen times again. "Haunt and haunt him, haunt and haunt him, Drag him to us, drag him to us!" deafening the whole town!

"Meg," said Trotty, softly, tapping at her door. "Do you hear anything?"

"I hear the Bells, father. Surely they're very loud to-night."

"Is she asleep?" said Toby, making an excuse for peeping in.

"So peacefully and happily! I can't leave her yet though, father. Look how she holds my hand!"

"Meg!" whispered Trotty. "Listen to the Bells!"

She listened with her face towards him all the time. But it underwent no change. She did n't understand them.

Trotty withdrew, resumed his seat by the fire, and once more listened by himself. He remained here a little time.

It was impossible to bear it; their energy was dreadful.

"If the tower-door is really open," said Toby, hastily laying aside his apron, but never thinking of the hat, "what's to hinder me from going up into the steeple and satisfying myself? If it's shut, I don't want any other satisfaction. That's enough."

He was pretty certain as he slipped out quietly into the street that he should find it shut and locked, for he knew the door well, and had so rarely seen it open, that he could n't reckon above three times in all. It was a low-arched portal, outside the church, in a dark nook behind a column; and had such great iron hinges, and such a monstrous lock, that there was more hinge and lock than door.

But what was his astonishment when, coming bareheaded to the church; and putting his hand into this dark nook, with a certain misgiving that it might be unexpectedly seized, and a shivering propensity to draw it back again; he found that the door, which opened outwards, actually stood ajar!

He thought, on the first surprise, of going back; or of getting a light, or a companion; but his courage aided him immediately; and he determined to ascend alone.

"What have I to fear?" said Trotty. "It's a church! Besides, the ringers may be there, and have forgotten to shut the door.

So he went in; feeling his way as he went, like a blind man; for it was very dark. And very quiet, for the Chimes were silent.

The dust from the street had blown into the recess; and lying there, heaped up, made it so soft and velvet-like to the feet, that there was something startling even in that. The narrow stair was so close to the door, too, that he stumbled at the very first; and shutting the door upon himself, by striking it with his foot, and causing it to rebound back heavily, he could n't open it again.

This was another reason, however, for going on. Trotty groped his way, and went on. Up, up, up, and round and round; and up, up, up; higher, higher, higher up!

It was a disagreeable staircase for that groping work; so long and narrow, that his groping hand was always touching something; and it often felt so like a man or ghostly figure standing up erect, and making room for him to pass without discovery, that he would rub the smooth wall upward searching for its face, and downward searching for its feet, while a chill tingling crept all over him. Twice or thrice a door or niche broke the monotonous surface; and then it seemed to gap as wide as the whole church; and he felt on the brink of an abyss, and going to tumble headlong down; until he found the wall again.

Still up, up, up; and round and round; and up, up, up; higher, higher, higher up!

At length, the dull and stifling atmosphere began to freshen; presently it blew so strong, that he could hardly keep his legs. But he got to an arched wipdow in the tower, breast-high, and holding tight, looked down upon the housetops, on the smoking chimneys, on the blurr and blotch of lights (toward the place where Meg was wondering where he was, and calling to him, perhaps,) all kneaded up together in a leaven of mist and darkness.

This was the belfry, where the ringers came. He had caught hold of one of the frayed ropes which had hung down through apertures in the oaken roof. At first he started; thinking it was hair; then trembled at the very thought of waking the deep Bell. The Bells themselves were higher. Higher, Trotty, in his fascinations, or in working out the spell upon him, groped his way. By ladders now, and toilsomely, for it was steep, and not too certain holding for the feet.

Up, up, up; and climb and clamber; up, up, up; higher, higher, higher up!

Until, ascending through the floor, and pausing with his head just raised above its beams, he came among the Bells. It was barely possible to make out their great shapes in the gloom; but there they were, shadowy, and dark, and dumb.

A heavy sense of dread and loneliness fell instantly upon him, as he climbed into this airy nest of stone and metal. His head went round and round. He listened, and then raised a wild "Halloa."

Halloa! was mournfully protracted by the echoes.

Giddy, confused, and out of breath, and frightened, Toby looked about him vacantly, and sunk down in a swoon.

THE THIRD QUARTER.

Black are the brooding clouds and troubled the deep waters, when the Sea of Thought, first heaving from a calm, gives up its dead. Monsters uncouth and wild, arise in premature, imperfect resurrection; the several parts and shapes of different things are joined and mixed by chance; and when, and how, and by what wonderful degrees, each separates from each, and every sense and object of the mind re-assumes its usual form and lives again, no man—though every man is every day the casket of this type of the Great Mystery—can tell.

So; when and how the darkness of the night-black steeple changed to shining light; when and how the solitary tower was peopled with a myriad figures; when and how the whispered "Haunt and haunt him," breathing monotonously through his sleep or swoon, became a voice exclaiming in the waking ears of Trotty, "Break his slumbers;" when and how he ceased to have a sluggish and confused idea that such things were, companioning a host of others that were not; there are no dates or means to tell. But—wake, and standing on his feet upon the boards where he had lately lain; he saw this Goblin Sight.

He saw the tower, whither his charmed footsteps had brought him, swarming with dwarf phantoms, spirits, elfin creatures of the Bells. He saw them leaping, flying, dropping, pouring from the Bells without a pause. He saw them, round him on the ground; above him, in the air; clambering from him, by the ropes below; looking down upon him, from the massive iron girded beams; peeping in upon him, through the chinks and loopholes in the walls; spreading away and away from him in enlarging circles, as the water-ripples give place to a huge stone that suddenly comes plashing in among them. He saw them of all aspects and all shapes. He saw them ugly, handsome, crippled, exquisitely formed. He saw them young, he saw them old, he saw them kind, he saw them cruel, he saw them merry, he saw them grim; he saw them tear their hair, and beard them growl. He saw them come and go, incessantly. He saw them riding downward, soaring upward, sailing off afar, perching near at hand, all restless, and all violently active. Stone, and brick, and tile became transparent to him as to them. He saw them in the houses, busy at the sleeper's beds. He saw them soothing people in their dreams; he saw them beating them with knotted whips; he saw them yelling in their ears; he saw them playing softest music on their pillows; he saw them cheering some with the songs of birds and the perfume of flowers; he saw flashing awful faces on the troubled rest of others, from enchanted mirrors which they carried in their hands.

He saw these creatures not only among sleeping men, but waking also, active in pursuits irreconcileable with one another, and possessing or assuming natures the most opposite. He saw one buckling on innumerable wings to increase his speed; another loading himself with chains and weights to retard his. He saw some putting the hands of clocks forward, some putting the hands of clocks backward, some endeavoring to stop the clock entirely. He saw them representing, here a marriage ceremony, there a funeral; in this chamber an election, and in that a ball; everywhere restless and untiring motion.

Bewildered by the host of shifting and extraordinary figures, as well as by the uproar of the Bells, which all this while are ringing, Trotty clung to a wooden pillar for support, and turned his white face here and there, in mute astonishment.

As he gazed the Chimes stopped. Instantaneous change! The whole swarm fainted; their forms collapsed, their speed deserted them; they sought to fly, but in the act died and melted into air. No fresh supply succeeded them. One straggler leaped down pretty briskly from the surface of the Great Bell, and alighted on his feet, but was dead and gone before he could turn round. Some few of the late company who had gambolled in the tower, remained their spinning over and over a little longer; but these became at every turn more faint, and few, and feeble, and soon went the way of the rest. The last of all was one small hunchback, who had got into an echoing corner, where he twirled, and twirled, and floated by himself a long time; showing such perseverance, that at last he dwindled to a leg and even to a foot, before he finally retired; but he vanished in the end, and then the tower was silent.

Then, and not before, did Trotty see in every Bell a bearded figure of the bulk and stature of the Bell—incomprehensibly, a figure and the Bell itself. Gigantic, grave, and darkly watchful of him, as he stood rooted to the ground.

Mysterious and awful figures! Resting on nothing; poised in the night air of the tower, with their draped and hooded heads merged in the dim roof; motionless and shadowy. Shadowy and dark, although he saw them by some light belonging to themselves—none else was there—each with its muffled hand upon its goblin mouth.

He could not plunge down wildly through the opening in the floor, for all power of motion had deserted him. Otherwise he would have done so—aye, would have thrown himself, head foremost, from the steeple top, rather than have seen them watching him with eyes that would have waked and watched although the pupils had been taken out.

Again, again, the dread and terror of the lonely place, and of the wild and fearful night that reigned there, touched him like a spectral hand. His distance from all help; the long, dark, winding, ghost-beleagured way that lay between him and the earth on which men lived; his being high, high, high, up there where it had made him dizzy to see the birds fly in the day; cut off from all good people, who at such an hour were safe at home and sleeping in their beds; all this struck coldly through him, not as a reflection, but as a bodily sensation. Meantime his eyes and thoughts, and fears, were fixed upon the watchful figures; which, rendered unlike any figures of this world by the deep gloom and shade enwrapping and enfolding them, as well by their looks and forms and supernatural hovering above the floor, were nevertheless as plainly to be seen as were the stalwart oaken frames, cross-pieces, bars, and beams, set up there to support the Bells. These hemmed them, in a very forest of hewn timber; from the entanglements, intricacies and depths of which, as from among the boughs of a dead wood blighted for their Phantom use, they kept their darksome and unwinking watch.

A blast of air—how cold and shrill!—came moaning through the tower. As it died away, the Great Bell, or the Goblin of the Great Bell, spoke.

"What visitor is this?" it said. The voice was low and deep, and Trotty fancied that it sounded in the other figures as well.

"I thought my name was called by the Chimes!" said Trotty, raising his hands in an attitude of supplication. "I hardly know why I am here, or how I came. I have listened to the Chimes these many years. They have cheered me often."

"And have you thanked them?" said the Bell.

"A thousand times!" cried Trotty.

"How?"

"I am a poor man," faltered Trotty, "and could only thank them in words."

"And always so?" inquired the Goblin of the Bell. "Have you never done us wrong in words?"

"No!" cried Trotty, eagerly.

"Never done us foul, and wicked wrong, in words?" pursued the Goblin of the Bell.

Trotty was about to answer, "Never!" But he stopped, and was confused.

"The voice of Time," said the Phantom, "cries to man Advance! Time is for his advancement and improvement; for his greater worth, his greater happiness, his better life; his progress onward to that goal within its knowledge and its view, and set there, in the period when Time and he began. Ages of darkness, wickedness, and violence, have come and gone: millions unaccountable, have suffered, lived, and died; to point the way before him. Who seeks to turn him back, or stay him on his course, arrests a mighty engine which will strike the meddler dead; and be the fiercer and wilder, for it's momentary check!"

"I never did so, to my knowledge, Sir," said Trotty. "It was quite by accident if I did. I would n't go to do it, I'm sure."

"Who puts into the mouth of Time, or of its servants," said the Goblin of the Bell, "a cry of lamentation for days which have had their trial and their failure, and have left deep traces of it which the blind may see—a cry that only serves the Present Time, by showing men how much it needs their help when any ears can listen to regrets for such a Past—who does this, does a wrong. And you have done that wrong to us, the Chimes."

Trotty's first excess of fear was gone. But he had felt tenderly and gratefully toward the Bells as you have seen; and when he heard himself arraigned as one who had offended them so weightily, his heart was touched with penitence and grief.

"If you knew," said Trotty, clasping his hands earnestly—"or perhaps you do know—if you know how often you have kept me company; how often you cheered me up when I've been low; how you were quite the plaything of my little daughter Meg (almost the only one she ever had) when first her mother died, and she and me were left alone—you won't bear malice for a hasty word!"

"Who hears in us, the Chimes, one note bespeaking disregard, or stern regard, of any hope, or joy, or pain, or sorrow, of the many-sorrowed throng; who hears us make response to any creed that gauges human passions and affections, as it guages the amount of miserable food on which humanity may pine and wither; does us wrong. That wrong you have done us!" said the Bell.

"I have!" said Trotty. "Oh, forgive me!"

"Who hears us echo the dull vermin of the earth; the Putters Down of crushed and broken natures, formed to be raised up higher than such maggots of the time can crawl, or can conceive," pursued the Goblin of the Bell: "who does so, does us wrong. And you have done us wrong!"

"Not meaning it," said Trotty. "In my ignorance. Not meaning it!"

"Lastly, and most of all," pursued the Bell. "Who turns his back upon the fallen and disfigured of his kind; abandons them as Vile; and does not trace and track with pitying eye the unfenced precipice by which they fell from God—grasping in their fall some tufts and shreds of that lost soil, and clinging to them still when bruised and dying in the gulf below; does wrong to Heaven and Man, to Time and to Eternity. And you have done that wrong!"

"Spare me," cried Trotty, falling on his knees; "for Mercy's sake!"

"Listen!" said the Shadow.

"Listen!" cried the other Shadows.

"Listen!" said a clear, child-like voice, which Trotty thought he recognized as having heard before.

The organ sounded faintly in the church below. Swelling by degrees, the melody ascended to the roof, and filled the choir and nave. Expanding more and more, it rose up, up; up, up; higher, higher, higher up; awakening agitated hearts within the burly piles of oak, the hollow bells, the iron-bound doors, the stairs of solid stone; until the tower walls were insufficient to contain it, and it soared into the sky.

No wonder that an old man's breath could not contain a sound so vast and mighty. It broke from that weak prison in a rush of tears; and Trotty put his hands before his face.

"Listen!" said the Shadow.

"Listen!" said the other Shadows.

"Listen!" said the child's voice.

A solemn train of blended voices rose into the tower.

It was a very low and mournful strain: a Dirge: and as he listened, Trotty heard his child among the singers.

"She is dead!" exclaimed the old man. "Meg is dead! Her spirit calls to me. I hear it!"

"The spirit of your child bewails the dead, and mingles with the dead—dead hopes, dead fancies, dead imaginings of youth," returned the Bell, "but she is living. Learn from her life, a living truth. Learn from the creature dearest to your heart, how bad the Bad are born. See every bud and leaf plucked one by one from the fairest stem, and know how bare and wretched it may be. Follow her! To Desperation!"

Each of the shadowy figures stretched its right arm forth, and pointed downward.

"The Spirit of the Chimes is your companion," said the figure. "Go! It stands behind you."

Trotty turned, and saw—the child! The child Will Fern had carried in the street; the child whom Meg had watched, but now, asleep.

"I carried her myself, to-night," said Trotty. "In these arms."

"Show him what he calls himself," said the dark figures, one and all.

The tower opened at his feet. He looked down, and beheld his own form lying at the bottom, on the outside; crushed and motionless.

"No more a living man!" cried Trotty. "Dead!"

"Dead!" said the figures, all together.

"Gracious Heaven! And the New Year—"

"Past," said the figures.

"What!" he cried, shuddering. "I missed my way, and coming on the outside of this tower in the dark, fell down—a year ago?"

"Nine years ago!" replied the figures.

(To be continued.)

Associated Agency.

Central Office, 20 Wall Street, (basement,) New-York.

THE attention of persons who are desirous of improving their condition in life, is respectfully invited to the following great bargains now offered in this office.

864 acres of land with improvements, in Lyonsdale, Lewis Co. N. Y. 40 miles north of Utica, with half of the immense water-power of High Falls, on Black River; a large and never-failing stream, with sixty feet fall, with a saw-mill in operation. The whole, or a part will be sold. Price for the whole only $12,000.

A farm of 750 acres of the best quality of land in Frederick Co. Virginia, 40 miles from Washington City, in a high state of cultivation, with superior buildings, including stock and farming utensils, for $25,000.

3,000 acres of valuable land in Luzerne Co. Pennsylvania, with improvements, water-power, &c. for $37,500.

A large portion of the Town of Mount Carmel, Wabash Co. Illinois, with extensive tracts of land in the vicinity, including two villages, with Houses, Lots, Ferries Coal-Banks, and an abundance of water-power. Water communication by way of the lakes to New-York, and by the Mississippi to New Orleans.

A part of the town of Toolesborough, Louisa Co. Iowa, on the River Mississippi, with several thousand acres of land adjoining.

8,660 acres of first-rate rolling land in Lincoln Co. Missouri, on the Mississippi. 1,000 acres Prarie, the balance timbered land. Price $5,000.

20,000 acres of excellent farming land, very favorably situated in Hampshire Co. Virginia, at $2 an acre.

40,000 acres of choice selected land in Michigan, at $1 an acre.

2,500 acres of land in West Tennessee, Perry Co. will be sold, a great bargain.

60,000 acres, in Fentriss Co. Tennessee, in tracts varying from 1,000 to 5,000 acres each, of good farming land, with Iron, Coal, Saltpetre, Epsom Salts, Copperas, and water-power.

214,000 acres in Washington, Green, Cock, Sevier, and Blount counties, Tennessee, at 25 cents an acre. On these lands are Iron, Bituminous Coal, Fine Clay for Pottery, Feldspar, Quartz, Lime, Alum, and an inexhaustible supply of water-power.

Several of the above tracts of land are peculiarly adapted to the settlement of industrial Associations.

Also, for sale in this office, a great variety of Farms, Mills, Houses, Town-Lots, &c. in the different Counties of the States of New-York and New Jersey, and in all the Western States and Territories, at the lowest market prices, and with warranted title.

Having 26 Branch offices in the West, 9 in New England, and 4 in Europe, our Associated Agency offers the greatest facilities to persons wishing to buy, sell, or exchange Real Estate. All such are invited to command our services.

A principal object of the Association is, to put in practical operation a plan, by which persons wishing to purchase Real Estate of any description, may, with the least possible delay, trouble, or expense, be informed where they can find property for sale, adapted to their circumstances and wants; and by which the seller and the buyer may be brought together, to make such transactions as may be mutually beneficial.

We have already a rich Register of property for sale, to which we invite the attention of those who wish to purchase Real Estate of any description, or in any par of the country.

We also conduct an Agency for non-resident proprietors of Western Lands.

Agency for *procuring* and for *selling* Patents in the United States and in Europe.

Agency for receiving orders for Arnold's *Superior* Scythe Sharpening Rifles, Price in New-York, $6 a groce.

Agency for effecting insurance against fire in all parts of the Union.

Agency for sale of the Recipe for the genuine Berlin Hams, superior to Westphalias.

Agency for procuring Loans on Bond and Mortgage.

BUFFUM & Co.
Basement Office, 20 Wall Street.

November 28, 1844.—tf.

Graham House, New Arrangement.

ROSWELL GOSS informs his friends and the public, that he has enlarged his Boarding Establishment, known as the

GRAHAM HOUSE, 63 BARCLAY STREET,

by adding to it the adjoining house, and is prepared to accommodate transient or permanent Boarders on the most favorable terms. All friends of Temperance desiring a quiet home, and freedom from the fumes of Alcohol and Tobacco, are invited to patronize this house. The vegetable system will be strictly adhered to, but a table will be served for those who prefer a mixed diet. Crotoa shower and warm baths free.

October 17. ROSWELL GOSS.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

(Second Edition.)

JUST Published, and for sale at this office, a new work on Capital Punishment. By Charles Spear. It contains a variety of thrilling and instructive anecdotes; also, all the capital offenses in every State in the Union; and a speech from O'Connell on the subject. Also, several instances of the execution of the *innocent*. Facts are drawn from history and observation, and the entire scripture ground has been examined. The work is embellished with a fine engraving. Price, 62 1-2 cents.

Education and Industry!

THE Northampton Association of Education and Industry have appropriated a suitable tenement for the accommodation of 15 or 20 boarding pupils. They will be members of a family, under the care of the Director of Education, assisted by his wife, and other teachers, and will be subject to the same treatment and regulations as pupils who are members of the association. The name of the association indicates the idea of culture, towards the realization of which our efforts will be directed. Systematic, habitual industry